

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 15. No. 11 — New Series.]

NOVEMBER 15, 1867.

{Price Fourpence Stamped
Threepence Unstamped

CONTENTS.

Monthly Summary	241	Slavery and Slave Life in Brazil.....	257
Garrison Meetings in England.....	243	Punishment for Woman Scourgers.....	261
The Bishop of the Niger.....	250	The New President of Hayti	262
Freedmen's Column.....	252	Death of an African King	263
Anti-Slavery Item	253	Review.....	263
Notice to Friends and Subscribers	254	Advertisements	263
Earl Russell on America.....	254	Donations and Subscriptions	264
Dr. Livingstone	256	Form of Bequest.....	264

Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—For the first time under the new arrangements, the West-India Mails were landed at Plymouth on the 12th ult.

On Monday, the 14th ultimo, an interesting meeting was held at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate Street, for the purpose of welcoming Mr. William Lloyd Garrison to this country. Mr. Joseph Cooper took the chair, and gave an account of the proceedings at the Conference in Paris. A summary of the proceedings will be found in another column.

On the 17th ultimo the annual meeting of the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association, and of the National Freedmen's-Aid Union, was held jointly in Birmingham. The proceedings commenced with a public breakfast, held mainly for the purpose of offering a hearty welcome to Mr. William Lloyd Garrison. Mr. Edward Gem presided, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. Arthur Albright, the Rev. R. W. Dale, Mr. George Thompson, Mr. R. Charleton, Mr. W. F. Mitchell, Mr. Levi Coffin, General Richardson (late a field-officer in the Confederate army), and other gentlemen.

Mr. Garrison left Liverpool for the United States, per the *Java*, bound to Boston, on the 28th ultimo.

Mr. J. S. Moffat, an African Missionary, and the brother-in-law of Dr. Livingstone, had published a letter giving strong reasons for hoping that the latter was still alive. Mr. Moffat stated that a report had been

received at Zanzibar of Livingstone's passage through a district more remote than the place where he was said to have been killed.

AFRICA.—King Archibong, of Duke Town, Old Calabar, had declared war against Adiabo, a town further up the river, the cause being a refusal on the part of the latter to deliver up a murderer. The town was suddenly attacked at dead of night, and a large capture of men, women and children was made, of whom upwards of thirty were afterwards massacred in cold blood. Six intended victims were rescued and placed under the protection of Mr. Charles Livingstone, British Consul at Fernando Po.

The Abbeokutan question was being agitated again. The Egbas had sent a formal demand to the Administrator of the Government at Lagos to withdraw the constabulary from Ebutemata, and, in consequence, a small detachment of the 2nd West-India Regiment had been sent to occupy that place. Some messengers from the King of Nape (Niger), with an escort, were seized by the Abbeokutans, and are reported to have been killed. Amongst the murdered men was Mr. Coco, a British subject of Accra, who for many years was a trusted servant of the late Dr. Baikie, of Niger celebrity.

Her Majesty's steamer *Investigator* had returned from an expedition up the Niger, where she encountered more than ordinary perils, owing to the low rise of this year's flood, the river being extremely shallow, and former surveys found to be almost useless. The *Investigator* got aground

abreast of a small hostile town. The natives, being in possession of cannon, took advantage of their position, and for eleven days the crew of the stranded vessel had to work under a galling fire, losing two seamen, and having several wounded. By throwing overboard the whole of the stores the vessel was sufficiently lightened to be got off, and reached Lagos much damaged.

BRAZIL.—The *Buenos Ayres Standard* of July 26th says, that near Matto Grosso, on the very confines of Brazil, there is a town composed of some 4000 runaway slaves. They have established a municipal government of their own (far superior to the Municipality of Buenos Ayres), have streets well laid out, houses built, and it is now by the merest chance that the government has heard of it. The town is called Manso, and near the mountains of St. Jeronimo. The townspeople are industrious, but, as women are scarce, they make raiding parties to run away with women in the settlements. It was one of these women who escaped who gave notice to the authorities of this extraordinary town.

CUBA.—The island authorities are at present engaged in obtaining a register of slaves, as a preliminary to the fixing of the indemnity to be paid to their owners when emancipation shall be declared. All slaves not registered within a given time will be regarded as and declared to be free. A statistical statement is also in course of preparation, setting forth the names of all estates which are mortgaged, and the amounts of the mortgages on each. Many are said to have two or three liens on each. These measures have been taken under instructions from the Home Government, and are to be completed within six months. General Lersundi, the predecessor of the late Captain-general, has been re-appointed to this office.

PORTO RICO.—The chief of the political government has issued instructions to the head of the ecclesiastical government of the island, to request the *curés* of the various parishes to collect and send in any copies which may be in circulation of the Spanish translation of the Bishop of Orleans' pastoral letter against Slavery, issued some four years ago, and which had been transmitted to the island, for distribution, by members of the Spanish Abolitionist Society. The political chief urges that the document is contrary to the public order and the good government of the colony.*

* We believe that the Bishop of Orleans has sent a remonstrance to the Bishop of Porto Rico on the subject.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

SPAIN.—*El Imparial* of Madrid, of the 9th October ultimo, states that its Porto Rico correspondent sends a piece of news which will rejoice the hearts of all who are interested in the abolition of Slavery. It is to the effect, that one Don Carlos M. Monsanto, formerly a merchant in Mayagüz, and who was not in good circumstances, having won the first prize in the lottery of that town, at once liberated his ten slaves. Also that a rich planter, named Don Simon Bey, who had died a few days antecedent to the departure of the mail, had, by his will, emancipated the whole of his slaves, to the number of some forty-six, including six purchased the day before his decease.*

UNITED STATES.—*Miscellaneous.*—It was stated that the Government would certainly be prepared to proceed with the trial of Mr. Davis on the fourth Monday in the present month.

The election in Alabama is believed to have undoubtedly resulted in favour of a Convention, 12,000 votes being cast, of which 100,000 were given by freedmen. The total registration in that State was 162,000.

In Louisiana the majority in favour of a Convention was large. During the election the white citizens attacked the negro voters at the polls in Jefferson City. Several negroes were wounded, and the leader of the rioters was killed. The military quelled the disturbance.

The records of registration up to the 24th shew that in South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, the coloured voters were in the majority, the excess varying from about 4600 to over 38,000; while in Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia, the whites registered outnumbered the blacks from 5000 to 13,667. On the total registration the coloured majority is estimated over 86,000.

Out of a list of 200 jurors drawn by military orders in Louisiana, only twenty were white.

The Mayor of New Orleans had promulgated a city ordinance, passed over his veto, appropriating 70,000 dollars for the establishment and support of schools for coloured people. Separate schools for them were about to be established.

Two negroes have been appointed in Vicksburg to office by the military and sworn in; one as a justice of the peace, and the other as a constable for David's Bend.

* We have reason to believe that these manumissions were the direct result of the propaganda set on foot in the island by the Madrid Abolitionist Society.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

Mr. Hunnicutt, Judge Underwood, an Irishman, and two negroes, have been nominated delegates to the Virginia Reconstruction Convention by the Richmond Radicals.

The report for September, of the Freedmen's Savings Fund, under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau, shews deposits during the month in the various offices to the amount of 122,633 dollars, while the drafts amounted to 116,849 dollars. Total amount due to depositors, 503,540 dollars.

There are 198 freedmen's schools in Virginia.

The cotton crop of the present year, the *New York Journal of Commerce*, after a careful review of all the evidence on the subject, estimates at 2,500,000 bales. The *New Orleans Picayune* estimates it at 2,000,000 bales.

The executive committee who are raising a fund as a testimonial to William Lloyd Garrison, in commemoration of his exertions for the abolition of Slavery, and of which Ex-Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, is chairman, announce that they have already collected over 30,000 dollars in sums varying from 1 to 1000 dollars, and that nearly 20,000 dollars is yet needed. It was proposed to make the fund 50,000 dollars when the subscription was started.

Mrs. Lincoln, widow of the late President, had put up for sale her wardrobe, jewels and other personal property. It does not seem quite clear whether this public sale is the result of necessity, or is an act arising out of private personal reasons. Abraham Lincoln left his family 75,000 dollars, to which Congress added 25,000 dollars, making a total of 100,000 dollars. The annual income of this, it was estimated by his executor, taken in connection with various handsome sums presented by friends, one being to the amount of 10,000 dollars, would be sufficient for the maintenance of the widow and the education of the only minor child.

The *Natchitoches (Louisiana) Times*, speaking of the coolies lately imported from Cuba, says they are a sorry substitute for the negroes. At first their inefficiency was attributed to a change of climate and the want of familiarity with the American agricultural instruments and manner of cultivation. The fact is, that they are incapable of cultivating the soil profitably, and are not to be depended on in making a crop. They are lazy, mutinous, obstinate and thievish. Such is the verdict of the planters who have employed Chinese coolies in Louisiana.

GARRISON MEETINGS IN ENGLAND.

On Monday evening, the 14th ultimo, a meeting convened by the *National Freedmen's Aid Union* was held at the Friends' Meeting House, Devonshire Street, Bishopsgate, to receive W. Lloyd Garrison, and hear his statements respecting the condition of the Freedmen of America. The chair was occupied by Joseph Cooper, Esq. who said: "It is not perhaps necessary to read the circular which has called us together this evening, as all present are probably aware that we are here at the invitation of the Committee of the National Freedmen's Aid Union, for the purpose of welcoming our friend William Lloyd Garrison, and of receiving information respecting the Freedmen of America and their prospects. William Lloyd Garrison is known to many present, and where he is not personally known, he is already well known by his works. His life-long labours on behalf of the slaves in America have given him a name and a place in the hearts of philanthropists not only in this country but in every quarter of the globe. But his sympathies and labours have not been confined to the subject of American Slavery: he has crossed the Atlantic three times for the purpose of promoting the abolition of Slavery everywhere. The last time, I believe, one of the principal objects was to attend the International Anti-Slavery Convention recently held in Paris. That body was composed of delegates and visitors from many different countries: among the latter there was one individual of a class not expected there. About the middle of the second day's sitting, when the condition and prospects of the Freedmen was the subject before the conference, and I think just after the speech of our friend, W. Lloyd Garrison, a man of colour rose in the body of the Hall, dressed like a gentleman, and apologized to the President for interrupting the regular order of the proceedings; but he said, 'I am one of those Freedmen, I was a slave, and when I saw around me so many gentlemen, met from so many different parts for the purpose of advocating the claims of the race to which I belong, my heart was too big for my body, and I could not any longer restrain myself. I was a slave in Georgia when General Sherman's army swept through that State, and, finding myself at liberty, I worked my way into the North, where I got employment in the coal-trade. I found the climate terribly cold, being twenty degrees below Zero; but notwithstanding that, with the coal-shovel in my hand and liberty in my heart, I had no

difficulty in keeping myself warm. When the warm weather came and the coal-trade was likely almost to cease, I looked out for something else, and got employment in the service of the Government at (I think he said) two dollars a day, but I applied to know if I worked more hours I should earn more. I was told I might work as many hours as I liked, and should be paid accordingly. Upon this I got up at four in the morning and worked till late at night, and so made one day into two, and got two days' pay.' By his industry and perseverance this man, though recently a slave, was able to save enough to enable him to visit Paris, to attend the Anti-Slavery Conference, and to see, in the Great Exhibition, the wonderful work of free men from almost every free country under the sun; and yet he is one of that race which some of our newspapers and philosophers delight to describe as irretrievably lazy, and so ill-favoured by Providence, that it is impossible they can be elevated in the social scale."

Letters were presented and partially read from William Brewin and other friends of the cause, including the following to Mr. Cooper:

Hitchin, October 12, 1867.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—It is a great disappointment to me to be unable to attend your meeting to welcome the distinguished Lloyd Garrison. It would have been a real pleasure to me to have seen and heard "that old man eloquent," who, through evil report and good report, has so nobly devoted his life to the cause of freedom.

Few men have lived to see the result of their labour in any really great or noble cause so distinctly obtained, or their life-work so signally crowned with success. It seems sometimes impossible to realize the fact of emancipation, especially when, in looking back to my visit to the United States, I recall to my mind the martyr Torry, imprisoned at Baltimore for the term of "seven times seven years," for the crime of assisting his fellow-men in their escape from bondage. That dignified worn face and emaciated form I have never forgotten, though twenty-two years have elapsed since I saw him in prison uniform marching in lock-step, with other prisoners, across the prison yard. The sense of depression and indignation which this sight caused I remember well, but with these came the feeling, that such self-sacrifice could not be in vain, and that the conscience of the North must some day be awakened, and boldly pronounce for the abolition of Slavery. And I remember writing home to my friends that it was not a war with England upon the "Oregon Boundary" (at that time much talked of) that I was afraid of, but that I believed the only solution of the vexed question of Slavery would be in a war between the North and the South; and although subsequent events, especially the submission of the North to the passing of the Fugi-

tive Slave Law, seemed to forbid any hope of such awakening, I thought I saw in the election of President Lincoln the dawn of those wonderful events, which, crowded into a few years, have effected a revolution in which the hand of an overruling Power has been more distinctly visible to my mind, than any which history has recorded since the day in which the Israelites were delivered from the hand of Pharaoh.

And now, when their cruel bondage is at an end, how vast, almost overwhelmingly so, is the work to be accomplished! A nation of slaves to be fitted to take their place at once—in a day we may say—as free men and citizens, side by side, with those who have been free and educated for generations.

That Christian men in the United States, profiting by the sad lessons taught in our West-Indian colonies, will not fail in this great duty, is my sincere conviction. Your meeting to-night will prove to your distinguished visitor that the sympathies and hearts of many Englishmen are with them in this great and noble enterprise. Believe me, with many regrets at not being able to join with you,

Thine very truly,
I. H. TUCKER.

Mr. John Taylor announced the order of proceedings, and moved the following resolution:

"That the Committee and friends of the National Freedmen's-Aid Union of Great Britain and Ireland assembled in Devonshire House, Bishopsgate Street, London, cordially welcome as their guest this evening W. Lloyd Garrison, and desire to convey to him their hearty appreciation of his courageous and life-long labours for the abolition of Negro Slavery in the United States of America.

"They offer their hearty congratulations to him, and, through him, to his co-patriots who have for so many years, amidst fierce opposition and sore discouragements, maintained the cause of the oppressed, until He who ruleth in the kingdom of men has undertaken for them, and given liberty to the bondman and freedom to the slave.

"They also greet him as a representative of the Freedmen's-Aid Union Commission of America, entertaining the most hearty sympathy with the vigorous efforts now being made to repair the injuries inflicted for many generations upon the negro race, and to make the Freedman free indeed.

"Especially they commend the establishment of schools for the Freedmen, and to all who are engaged in the great and beneficent work of instruction, secular and religious, they heartily bid God speed; desiring that they may not weary in well-doing; that zeal be tempered with judgment and love; and that the Most High, who has made the wrath of man to praise Him, may restrain the remainder of wrath, and crown with His blessing the work undertaken in His name."

(Signed) JOSEPH COOPER, Chairman.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. William Allen, of Winchmore Hill, and

supported by Mr. George Palmer, of Reading, who expressed their admiration of the career of Mr. Garrison, and their gratification at being in any way instrumental in doing any thing likely to promote the cause of the Freedmen.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. Garrison, who rose and addressed the meeting.

MR. GARRISON commenced by remarking the comparative embarrassment which he felt at meeting with so cordial and unanimously friendly a reception as the present. It was an experience entirely unlike what he had been accustomed to in former years. However, he received the welcome of his English friends with the deepest gratification, feeling that it was not meant to be a manifestation of goodwill to himself alone, but also to his numerous coadjutors and associates in the long struggle for emancipation, now so gloriously terminated, so far at least as the United States are concerned.

In return, he most cordially thanked his friends on this side the Atlantic for their very animating sympathy and support, both in the past and present; for without this sympathy the great struggle of the anti-Slavery cause could not have been maintained as it has been. And now that the victory is won, the satisfactory condition of the four million Freedmen is largely owing to British beneficence, whereby the education and civilization of the newly-emancipated hosts have been so effectually promoted.

The conduct of these Freedmen is indeed beyond praise. They have surpassed the most sanguine expectations of their friends, and have extorted on every hand the admiration even of their enemies and of their former masters. They have indeed acted as if moved by a Divine inspiration. It is wonderful, and can only be accounted for by a reference to the good hand of God and the special blessing of His Providence.

Mr. Garrison, then, after entering into some details of the moderation, the docility, and the rapid progress in knowledge and in the arts of civilized life which are characterizing the Freedmen, stated that in all probability there would not be occasion for a continuance of British bounty to these people beyond one year more; for it is the general impulse of the Freedmen to exert themselves and to render their system of education and religious instruction self-supporting. They have already attained this independent position in some localities.

The present is a most important crisis in the history of emancipation; for it

must not be forgotten, that although Slavery has ceased in the United States, yet it still enthrals millions of the human race in other regions. In the vast empire of Brazil, in the Portuguese dominions, in the large and populous island of Cuba, and elsewhere, the barbarisms of Slavery still continue. Therefore the conflict must be maintained by all Christian men, and especially by good men in this land. There must be little if any reliance placed upon the plausible professions and promises of slave-holders in any region. Whilst a single slave anywhere remains, the labour for emancipation must be perseveringly continued. And until that emancipation is universal, and permanently secured, our work remains before us.

But it is manifest that the success of this work is intimately bound up with the conduct and condition of the Freedmen in the United States. The eyes of the remaining advocates of Slavery are vigilantly directed towards these newly-emancipated people, and are closely watching the results of the liberty which, in the marvellous dispensation of Almighty God, has so suddenly and unexpectedly been presented to them. Most happily, the results, so far, are in the highest degree encouraging. But there is nevertheless an urgent need for energetic efforts to place the final certainty of this success beyond a doubt. Therefore the friends of liberty must still continue their generous aid to the Freedmen for about a year longer, not merely for the sake of these alone, but also for that of the great cause of complete and world-wide emancipation.

In taking a rapid retrospect of the struggles of the New-England abolitionists, and of the excessive opposition encountered by them until a very recent period, he acknowledged with much solemnity and pathos that the accomplishment of the freedom of the American slaves was to be ascribed to God alone. The work was manifestly his. The events of the late awful civil war indicated most clearly that the cry of the oppressed had at length come up before God, and that He in his sovereign and irresistible power had effectually interposed and wrought this stupendous deliverance. Therefore to God alone must be ascribed the glory and the praise.

And, finally, in making this acknowledgment there is ground for most assuring hope, inasmuch as the wonderful manner in which God has thus far blessed the progress of emancipation, affords a basis for unfaltering confidence that He will Himself carry on that work, though by instru-

mental means, to a triumphant and irreversible completion.

Levi Coffin bore testimony to the uniform good conduct of the Freedmen, and to their great desire to acquire education; and was followed by W. Forster Mitchell, to the same effect.

The Rev. Francis Tucker being called upon, expressed great pleasure in meeting Mr. Garrison, and congratulating him on the fulfilment of his dearest hopes. He (Mr. Tucker) had been a well-wisher of the North throughout the great war, had never wished the Union to be divided, nor felt in any degree jealous of its power; but his chief sympathy was with the emancipation of the slaves. This sympathy was hereditary. His honoured father was an ardent emancipationist. When the Reform Bill of 1832 was carried, and the towns of England were illuminated, Mr. Tucker's father fixed in his window a transparency representing a fettered negro, lifting his clasped hands to heaven, and uttering the words: "Think on me when it is well with thee, and shew kindness, I pray thee, unto me; and make mention of me to the king; for indeed I was stolen away out of the land of my fathers: and here also I have done nothing that I should be kept in bondage." Before two years had expired the Act passed which put an end to Colonial Slavery.

With regard to American Slavery we had a two-fold feeling: first for the slaves themselves, then for the country that kept them slaves. To us it seemed, that not only the negro was in bondage, but America herself. Slavery was the enslavement of America: iron fetters bound her noblest energies, and we thought we saw the iron entering her soul. Now it takes a long time for the wrist that has been long fettered to lose the scar. It takes a longer time for the fettered mind to expand to its fair proportions. How long will it take America to recover from its long enslavement, and grow to what it yet may be? The other day he (Mr. Tucker) was in Holland, attending the conference of the Evangelical Alliance. Dr. Prime of America proposed that the next conference should be held in New York. An Italian moved as an amendment that it be held in Rome. He (Mr. Tucker) thought that Rome might wait, and hoped that in a year or two New York might receive the Alliance. Nothing would help more to bind America and England in indissoluble union. He for one longed to visit America. He longed, he must confess, to visit the caves of Kentucky and hear the thunders of Niagara. He longed to see the wonderful culture of the Eastern States, and the no less wonderful

spread of culture in the Western prairies. But, most of all, he wanted to see Uncle Tom and Aunt Chloe with no cruel law to part them; he wanted to see Mose and Pete sitting side by side in the Freedmen's schools; and he wanted to look into the dear motherly face of Rachel Halliday, and to hear the creaking (better than the music of the waters) of her old arm chair.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON made an eloquent and touching speech, in the course of which he alluded in feeling terms to the eminent services of the chairman, one of the last of the old and faithful band which had borne the brunt of the anti-Slavery fight in this country, and concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to him.

The Chairman responded briefly, and expressed a hope that what had already been done would stimulate the friends of the cause to further efforts for the final extinction of Slavery and the slave-trade, and for the protection of the Freedmen.

The meeting then dispersed.

MEETINGS AT BIRMINGHAM.

A united gathering of the National Freedmen's-Aid Union and the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association took place on Thursday the 17th October ult., in Birmingham. The proceedings of the day commenced with a public breakfast, at Nock's Royal Hotel, Temple-row, at nine o'clock. Mr. Edward Gem, the President of the Birmingham Association, took the chair, and the large room in which the meeting was held was filled with ladies and gentlemen. Amongst the latter present were—Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, United States, the well-known anti-Slavery champion; Mr. George Thompson, of London; Mr. William Forster Mitchell, of Tennessee; Mr. Levi Coffin, Mr. F. J. Garrison, General Richardson, late of the Confederate army; Major Saunders, Mr. H. Gwinn, of Atalanta; Mr. D. Smith, of Philadelphia; Rev. Charles Vince, Rev. R. W. Dale, Mr. Elihu Burritt, American consul; Alderman Manton; the Revs. P. Reynolds, J. J. Brown, G. B. Johnson, J. Atford, J. Lord, J. Harrison, W. F. Gallaway, J. T. Feaston, J. Clarke, C. Brittain, B. Cadbury; Messrs. J. Bottomley, J. R. Boyce, W. Harris, T. Griffiths, J. H. Hopkins, R. C. Bushell, S. A. Goddard, B. Hudson, W. Morgan, A. J. Naish, J. Taylor, G. Baker, J. E. Baker, J. Carder, W. Middlemore, Brook Smith, C. Partridge, J. Cadbury, W. White, B. Impey, W. Eden, B. H. Cadbury, J. S. Wright, C. Pumphrey, J. Pumphrey, G. B. Lloyd, W. H. Lloyd, Stafford Allen and William Allen (London), T. Burgess (Leicester),

S. Baines (Leicester), Joseph Goddard (Leicester), Barker (Wolverhampton), Gameson, H. W. Coffin (Cincinnati), E. Flower (Stratford-on-Avon), J. Collins, T. Graham (Leamington), J. Thomas, &c.

The proceedings were highly interesting. After the chairman's opening remarks, the following resolution, moved by Mr. A. Albright, and seconded by the Rev. R. W. Dale, was carried amidst loud and long-continued applause.

"That this meeting, convened by the National Freedmen's-Aid Union and the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association, heartily congratulates the eminent anti-Slavery leader, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, and Mr. George Thompson, his eloquent ally, on living to witness the emancipation of four millions of slaves in the United States of America, towards whose enfranchisement their fearless advocacy, persevering labours and unshrinking fortitude so largely contributed."

Mr. Garrison, having made an eloquent and stirring speech, was followed by Mr. Albright, who had the following resolution, passed on the previous Tuesday (the 15th) by the Committee of the Birmingham and Midland Freedmen's-Aid Association:

"That this Committee has heard with much satisfaction of the vigorous effort which the National Freedmen's-Aid Union is making, in anticipation of closing its public labours in the coming spring; as also that nearly 500% have been raised towards the final special fund from a limited circle of friends of the cause in Birmingham; and trusts to the generous anti-Slavery and philanthropic public in Birmingham to raise this sum to a total of not less than 1000%, in connection with the annual meetings. —Thursday, October 17, 1867."

Addresses having been delivered by Mr. R. Charleton, of Bristol, Levi Coffin, General Richardson, (late of the Confederate army,) and Mr. George Thompson, the following resolution was submitted and adopted, upon the motion of Alderman Manton:

"That this meeting extends a cordial welcome to the Right Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, D.D., Bishop of Ohio, the venerable and faithful defender of the rights of the coloured people of the United States; to our revered friend, Levi Coffin, the ever ready protector of the fugitive slave; to William Forster Mitchell, the devoted and laborious superintendent of Freedmen's schools; and to our other American guests now present, whom this meeting recognises, in their various spheres of labour, as the friends of the now emancipated coloured people in the Southern States of the American Union."

The meeting then adjourned until the evening, when a large company assembled at the Town-hall, the Mayor (Mr. T. Avery) in the chair. The speakers were the Bishop of Ohio, (Dr. McIlvaine,) W. F.

Mitchell, (Tennessee,) W. L. Garrison, George Thompson, an emancipated slave named Gwin, the Rev. S. Bache, and the Rev. R. W. Dale, the two latter of whom respectively moved and seconded the following resolution; after which a vote of thanks to the Mayor was passed, and the meeting separated:

"That this meeting rejoices to hear of the industry and good conduct of the Freedmen, and of the success of the educational efforts made on their behalf; and this meeting has heard with much satisfaction of the proposal of the National Freedmen's-Aid Union to raise, as a final effort, large contributions for establishing normal schools or other classes for training coloured teachers, and pledges itself to help in obtaining such additions to the Birmingham list of subscriptions as will produce a total of at least 1000%."

MEETINGS AT LEEDS.

A large and enthusiastic meeting, the object of which was to give a reception to the distinguished American philanthropist and anti-Slavery leader, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, was held on Monday evening, the 21st ultimo, in the Victoria Hall, Leeds. The chair was occupied by Mr. Baines, M.P., and amongst those on the platform with Mr. Garrison were: Mr. George Thompson, of London; the Revs. T. Hincks, J. Morton, J. H. McCheane, and A. H. Byles; Mr. Alderman Carter, Mr. Jowitt, Mr. Joseph Lupton, Mr. W. Armistead, Mr. F. Jackson, Mr. Councillor Whiting, Mr. Councillor Barran, Mr. G. E. Donisthorpe, Mr. James Moorhouse, and Mr. John Lupton, of Leeds; Mr. Alderman Brown, Mr. Alderman Law, Mr. A. Illingworth, Mr. E. Priestman, Mr. Councillor Scott, Mr. Nichols, and Mr. Harrison, of Bradford; Dr. Kitching, of York; Mr. F. Garrison, of Boston, U.S.; and Mr. Webb, of Dublin. On ascending the platform along with Mr. Baines, Mr. Garrison was loudly cheered.

The CHAIRMAN opened proceedings by an eloquent address, and was followed by Mr. JOSEPH LUPTON who announced that Mr. J. for absence had been re-letters of apology to gentlemen: ceived from the following gentlemen: Mr. I. Holden, M.P., Sir F. Crossley, Bart., M.P., Mr. G. S. Beecroft, M.P., Bishop of McIlvaine, the Vicar of Wakefield, the Revs. J. Farrar, W. Thomas, Dr. Godwin, Josiah Pearson, and J. Rattenbury, Mr. Ald. Tatham, and Mr. Ald. Godwin, Mr. Joseph J. Dymond, and Mr. R. Kell, of Bradford. Letters had been received from all these gentlemen, but he would read one of them only, that sent by the Rev. Dr. Godwin—a veteran in the great cause advocated by Mr. Garrison. Dr. Godwin wrote as follows:—

The Crow Trees, Rawden, Oct. 17, 1867.

DEAR SIR—I feel obliged to you and the gentlemen on whose behalf you write for your kind invitation to the meeting on Monday next, to “give a welcome to Mr. Lloyd Garrison.” The infirmities of old age (I have passed my 82nd year) prevent what would otherwise afford me great pleasure. Will you be so obliging as to present to Mr. Garrison my warm congratulations that he has lived to witness the great consummation for which he so long laboured and suffered, in the abolition by the United States of America of the anti-Christian, inhuman, and most infamous system of negro Slavery.

Having myself long and earnestly struggled for the suppression of this wretched system, aided actively, though not prominently by my son, I cannot but rejoice in the unspeakable satisfaction which Mr. Garrison must feel in witnessing the accomplishment of the great object of his life, after having sought it with so many labours and anxieties, with such unflinching perseverance “through evil report and good report.”

The first and only time that I ever had the opportunity of meeting with Mr. Garrison was when, with some anti-Slavery friends who had come across the Atlantic to our Convention in London, I witnessed the meeting of himself and George Thompson after their escape from the ruffianism which would have sacrificed them both; for then the Northern States were not very different from the South in their intense hatred and contempt of the negro race.

What an auspicious progress has been made since then in the sacred cause of justice and mercy!—a progress which is still advancing, and must advance, till the angelic song be fully realized—“Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, and good will to men.”

Yours sincerely,

Joseph Lupton, Esq.

R. GODWIN.

MR. WILSON ARMISTEAD moved that the following address be presented to Mr. Garrison:—

TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, ESQ.,

Dear and Honoured Sir,—It is with no ordinary feeling of satisfaction that we have now the pleasure of enjoying personal communion with you.

The name of Wm. Lloyd Garrison has long been familiar to us as one most intimately identified with the emancipation of the slave, and we felt that we could not rest satisfied without embracing the opportunity afforded by your hasty visit to this country of publicly expressing to you our high appreciation of your arduous and untiring efforts in the cause of humanity and the inestimable services rendered by you in hastening the downfall of American Slavery.

We desire unitedly and heartily to cheer you with our sympathy for your faithfulness in the great cause to which your life has been mainly devoted. And in thus addressing you as the champion of an oppressed race, and testifying our esteem and admiration of your life-long labours, we are forcibly reminded that in the

early period in which you first espoused the principles of justice and humanity, and publicly vindicated them, their advocacy was attended with obloquy and peril, and that your faithful adherence to them subjected you to much popular odium, misrepresentation, ridicule, and abuse.

Being amongst the first, and ever the foremost, to sound the alarm in the ears of a guilty nation—to lift up the veil and expose the gross violations which were involved in the accursed slave system—it was your lot to receive an unmeasured share of vituperation and abuse. But your resolution was firmly fixed, as recorded in those memorable words:—“I have taken my ground—I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard.” Then, almost alone, and unaided by worldly weight or influence, you went forth in God’s strength, and, having once put your hand to the plough, we do not find that you ever looked back.

Nearly half a century has elapsed since your first efforts were commenced; and when, as a poor printer, your press was set to work for the diffusion of truth and the defence of truth and liberty, your office was described as “an obscure hole, your only visible auxiliary a negro boy, and your supporters a few insignificant persons of all colours.” But by this insignificant and apparently inadequate agency it was that a mighty nation was to be shaken and divided against itself, as events have subsequently proved.

Very graphically has the poet recorded this early page of your history, and which has now become a portion of the world’s history, so intimately is it connected with its social progress:—

“In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled o’er his types one poor unlearned
young man;

The place was dark, unfurnished, and mean,
Yet there the freedom of a race began.”

It is not for us to trace the history of the great movement which was to bring about the abolition of American Slavery. The institution had become one of colossal magnitude; its eradication was surrounded with much greater difficulties—apparent impossibilities. It had become a mighty power, including in its support, with slight honourable exceptions, all the religious bodies, and it had ramified itself into the benevolent and other organizations of the country, all being more or less auxiliary to the slave party. Instead of decreasing, the evil was ever extending in magnitude and strength.

With all the popular religion of the land coalescing with and upholding things as they were, none daring to interfere with or utter a word against the institution, some idea may be formed of the difficulties you must have encountered in what you had set yourself to accomplish, and of the herculean task that was before the man who dared to condemn a slaveholding religion as spurious Christianity, and who, with unflinching will, boldly breasted the waves of opposition ever swelling up from a people whose hands were so deeply imbued in iniquity, and who madly refused to be enlightened.

It was for the poor printer, however, to re-

deem his pledge, and, ever foremost in the ranks, valiantly did he sustain the heat of the conflict. Your burden was, "Cry aloud and spare not; shew my people their transgressions and the greatness of their sins." And the echoes of that one honest voice were destined to reverberate from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Maine to Mexico, becoming mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of oppression and wrong.

But the contest was long and fierce. The demon was not easily cast out. The spirit of Slavery raged vehemently, and often was your life imperilled. Dragged by a mob through your own city with your faithful friend and coadjutor, and our honoured friend, George Thompson, you were threatened with death by Lynch law. At another time immured in prison, and then 5000 dollars offered for your head by the Legislature of Georgia. But "Man proposes, and God disposes." How remarkable is the fulfilment of the prophecy written by you on the prison walls of Baltimore whilst all these things were transpiring:

"Though beaten, imprisoned, put to open shame,
Time shall embalm and magnify thy name."

In addition to persecution and imprisonment, how often was the infidel cry resorted to against you and your faithful associates for rebuking a slaveholding and slave-sustaining priesthood, and exposing the impurity of their religion. The mode of attacking the true reformer is essentially the same in every age, and we feel bound to confess, that amidst all the pharisaical efforts of the oppressors to destroy your reputation, we were always impressed with the folly and injustice of their treatment of one whose spirit has ever breathed only of "peace on earth and good will to men," whatever their clime or complexion.

We admired the constancy of your zeal, and believing the American Anti-Slavery Society, of which you were the originator and honoured president, was the most powerful instrumentality for arousing and changing public opinion, it was our privilege to co-operate with them. In addition to the epistolary intercourse we enjoyed, we recur with pleasure to the personal visits of our American friends, co-workers with you in this great movement.

There are many points of interest in this connection on which we could delight to dwell. But we must not multiply words. We are thankful that the great object we all had at heart is now achieved. It was your lot for many long years, in season and out of season, more through evil report than through good report, to sound the alarm in the ears of a guilty nation. Had your counsels been taken, the question would have been solved, and the dangers and difficulties overcome peaceably. But it was not so. The evil increased, and the pent-up volcano made a sudden outburst. The sequel is known to all. Public opinion had at length been so far publicly wrought upon as to result in the election to the Presidency of a man whose views were too far advanced to satisfy the Slave States. Abraham Lincoln being returned, they rebelled, saying "We will not have this man to rule over us." They took up

the sword, and after a protracted and anxious struggle, the Slave-power, with its garments rolled in blood, was vanquished, and "Liberty was proclaimed throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof."

We congratulate you, Sir, on the achievement of this great victory. It was by you and your noble associates that the public mind was educated and prepared firmly to resist the assumption of the Slave-power, and in overthrowing it, to rid the world of the most gigantic system of iniquity that ever afflicted our race.

We thank God, and rejoice in the accomplishment of this great event. We rejoice that our brethren in bonds are freed from cruel oppression; and we rejoice that from the escutcheon of a people so closely affiliated with ourselves this one blot, so large and so foul, against which in times past we were wont to utter words of recrimination, has been wiped away. The downfall of Slavery is assuredly the harbinger of a brighter and a better day for the happiness and the harmony of the human family, and the two freest and most highly-favoured countries of the world may now go hand in hand, emulating and animating each other in conscious conformity to the Divine and golden rule of social rectitude, "Whatever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

The facilities for national intercourse which we now possess are rapidly tending to remove those absurd jealousies which have so long existed between the nations of the earth. The time has gone by when oceans' waves, or "mountains intervening," shall "make enemies of nations." Every day we are feeling more that the world is our country and every man our brother. True Christian philanthropy knows no geographical limits, no distinction of race or colour; but wherever it sees its fellow-man the victim of suffering and oppression, it seeks to alleviate his sorrows, or to drop a tear of sympathy over the afflictions which it has not the power to remove.

If there be any portion of our race who have a strong claim on our sympathy, surely it is the millions who have been so recently emancipated from cruel bondage. Much privation and suffering are the necessary consequence of a rapid change from Slavery to Freedom, and all who have helped to bring about this result must feel that its accomplishment entails a responsibility upon them, not only to minister to the temporal necessities of the Freedmen during the time of transition, but to improve their social condition, to elevate their crippled intellects, and to promote their eternal interests. We shall ever esteem it a pleasure and privilege, as well as a duty, to aid you in this labour of love.

We repeat that we desire to join you in rejoicing with thanksgiving to God that the chains of Slavery are broken. And in the belief that you, whom we greet and welcome as our dear and honoured friend, were raised up, and have been an instrument in God's hand to hasten the glorious work of emancipation, we pray that His blessing, as well as "the blessing of Him that was ready to perish," may abundantly rest upon you and yours.

With sentiments of the highest esteem and respect, we affectionately subscribe ourselves,
YOUR FRIENDS.

Mr. Alderman Law, of Bradford, seconded, and Mr. Jowitt supported, the adoption of the address; and the motion having been carried amidst tumultuous applause, the address was handed to him by the chairman, who, on receiving it, was saluted with renewed cheers.

Mr. Garrison acknowledged the compliment paid him, in a long and luminous speech, and was followed by the Rev. J. H. McCheane and the Rev. Jacob Morton, the movers and seconders of the subjoined resolution, supported by Mr. Alderman Brown, of Bradford:

"That this meeting, whilst trusting that the great need of the American Freedmen for the benefaction of England is less urgent, admits that it is still our duty to cheer our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic in the great social problem they are working out, and to aid by all convenient means in the great work of education and organization that is being effected."

Mr. A. Illingworth moved and Mr. Councillor Barham seconded the next resolution:

"That this meeting also expresses its high sense of the distinguished services rendered to the anti-slavery cause by their esteemed fellow-countryman, Mr. George Thompson, whom it welcomes once more to Yorkshire."

Mr. George Thompson then addressed the meeting, reviewing the history of the anti-Slavery struggle in the United States and in England; and was succeeded by Mr. Garrison, who testified to the pre-eminent service Mr. Thompson rendered to the cause of emancipation in both countries. He ended by proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman, and to Dr. Spark, who had performed on the organ during certain intervals that evening, which, having been seconded by Mr. Thompson, was carried unanimously, and the proceedings ended.

THE BISHOP OF THE NIGER.

ABOUT the end of March 1822, a small slaving vessel was captured by our cruisers, not far from the coast of Africa. There were 187 slaves on board, and amongst them a lad about twelve years of age, named Adjai. Though so young, his history had been an eventful one. About a year before, while breakfast was being prepared in his father's hut, an alarm was sounded that the Eyo Mahommedans were about to attack the town. It proved too true. Before night the town was in ashes, Adjai's father and many others killed, and the remainder, including Adjai, with his sisters, his cousin, his mother, made captives. Then ensued a sad journey from Oshagun, Adjai's birth-place, to Isehin, another town twenty miles distant.

Here the spoil was divided. Adjai and his elder sister fell to the share of the principal chief, while his mother and his younger sister, then only a baby, became the property of those among them who had actually been engaged in the expedition. His cousin had previously been separated from them. A little later in the day, Adjai was exchanged by the chief for a horse. Two months afterwards the chief repented of his bargain, and Adjai was returned to him, and taken to a town called Dadda, where his mother was residing, and whom he was occasionally permitted to see. From Dadda, he was taken away, with several others, to the coast, for sale to the Portuguese. His misery on the journey was so great that he several times attempted to commit suicide. Thrice he was sold to different owners, when at length he and his companions were put on board the slaver, which immediately set sail. The very next evening, however, the slaver was surprised and taken by two English men-of-war, and one eventful chapter of Adjai's life was brought to a close.

Adjai and five other youths were taken on board the *Myrmidon*, and, after a cruise of about two months and a half, were landed at Sierra Leone on the 17th of June 1822. On the same day they were sent, with thirty others, to Bathurst, about seven miles from Free Town. Here Adjai was put to school, and so diligent was he in his studies, that, in six months after his arrival at Sierra Leone, he was able to read the New Testament. He was then made a monitor, and had a class of his own to teach, receiving sevenpence-halfpenny a month for his services. On the 11th of December 1825, having given evidence of conversion, he was baptized. He then gave up his heathen name of Adjai, and received that of "Samuel Crowther," after a clergyman in England. In 1826 he was brought to England. Shortly after his return to Africa an Institution was commenced at Fourah Bay, close to Free Town, for the purpose of training pious young Africans as missionaries to their countrymen, and Samuel Crowther was admitted as the first student. In 1829 he married a Christian woman, also a liberated slave, who had been educated at the Bathurst school at the same time as himself. For many years he laboured actively and devotedly as the schoolmaster of Regent's Town. In 1841 he accompanied the famous Niger expedition in the capacity of interpreter. The melancholy results of that expedition made it more obvious than ever that the civilization and conversion of Africa must depend upon civilized and converted Africans. Impressed with this conviction, Samuel Crowther asked for such instruction as would qualify him to act, not only as a teacher, but as a missionary to his countrymen. His desire was granted. He came over to England a second time, and was admitted to the College of the Church Missionary Society at Islington on the 13th of October 1842. On the 11th of June 1843 he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London, and on the 1st of October of the same year he received priests' orders. In December of the same year he landed again at Sierra Leone, and a second chapter of his history may be regarded as closed.

It was not till August 1846 that he was able to enter upon his sphere of labour, Abbeokuta, but in the period of his detention in Free Town, he translated the Gospel of St. Luke, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans into his native language, besides preaching regularly to the Yoruba people who were located there. At Abbeokuta the mission party was received with great honour, and Mr. Crowther and his companions commenced their work with thankfulness and hope. Scarcely had he been three weeks settled there when an event occurred which we prefer to allow him to narrate in his own words. In his journal for the 21st of August 1846 he thus writes: "The text for this day in the 'Christian Almanac' is, 'Thou art the help of the fatherless.' I have never felt the force of this text more than I have this day, as I have to relate that my mother, from whom I was torn away about five-and-twenty years ago, came with my brother in search of me. When she saw me she trembled. She could not believe her eyes. We grasped one another, looking at each other with silence and great astonishment; big tears rolled down her emaciated cheeks. She trembled as she held me by the hand, and called me by the familiar name by which I well remember I used to be called by my grandmother, who has since died in slavery. We could not say much, but sat still, and cast now and then an affectionate look at each other—a look which violence and oppression have often checked—an affection which has nearly been extinguished by the long space of twenty-five years. Thus unsought for, after all search for me had failed, God has brought us together again, and turned our sorrow into joy!" In a short time afterwards Mr. Crowther, with the help of a few Christian friends, ransomed his sisters, his brother-in-law and his nieces from slavery. Thus the little family, so long separated, after so many years of sorrow, toil and danger, were once more united. On the 6th of February 1848 the first-fruits of Christian labour in the interior of Western Africa were admitted into Christ's fold by baptism—three women, two men, and four little children. One of these women was Afala, Mr. Crowther's mother. He had chosen for his mother the appropriate name of *Hannah*; and surely the Jewish *Hannah* had no greater reason to rejoice in her Samuel than the African *Hannah* had in hers. So abundantly did God bless the labours of his servants, that on the 3rd of August 1849 Mr. Crowther was enabled to write: "This mission is to-day three years old; and if we look back during that period we have much cause for thankfulness. . . . At the lowest calculation we have 500 constant attendants upon the means of grace, about 80 communicants, and nearly 200 candidates for baptism and the Lord's Supper." So great success alarmed the heathen priests and priestesses, and the spring of 1850 was a season of sore persecution. But the loss of worldly goods, bonds, stripes, starvation, torments of the most ingenious description and terrible character, failed to move the converts from their faith in Christ. A constancy so unexpected and wonderful filled the heathen with awe, and awakened increased inquiry into the nature of

the new religion that could inspire even women with such fortitude. On the following Whit-Sunday Mr. Crowther had the joy of baptizing twenty-four men and women, and six children. In 1851 Abbeokuta narrowly escaped destruction by the Dahomians, who, contrary to all expectation, were defeated, 1200 of them being slain. The night before the battle, the Christian converts met to supplicate the aid of their God, and to Him they piously ascribe the victory.

This great peril being passed, Mr. Crowther, this time accompanied by his wife, again came to England to tell what the Lord had done for his fellow-countrymen, and to consult with the friends of missions concerning further and more extensive operations. He was received with merited respect. The Queen and Prince Albert heard his story from his own lips. Many who were then children remember the delight with which they listened to him at various missionary meetings. While in England, in conjunction with the Rev. O. Vidal, who afterwards was consecrated first Bishop of Western Africa, he prepared a new edition of a dictionary of the Yoruba language. On his return he took with him his eldest son Samuel, who had been educated for the medical profession. His eldest daughter Susannah, who also was educated in England, became the wife of the Rev. George Nicol, the second ordained African Minister.

In 1854, Mr. Crowther accompanied another and remarkably successful expedition up the Niger, and, from what he saw, was convinced that the time had fully come for the introduction of Christianity into that region. But it was the summer of 1857 before he was enabled to carry out his long-cherished desire. In the interval, however, he had prepared translations of parts of the Bible into the languages of the tribes on the banks of the river. The mission party consisted of Mr. Crowther, the Rev. J. C. Taylor, a native of the Ibo tribe, a single-hearted, devoted man, and several native teachers from Sierra Leone. They sailed in a little vessel appropriately named the *Dayspring*. Mr. Taylor and Simon Jonas, an experienced teacher and interpreter, were left at the large town of Onitsha, one hundred and fifty miles up the river. At Gbebe, a town built near the confluence of the Tshadda and the Niger, about one hundred miles beyond Onitsha, three native teachers were left. Pursuing their voyage for one hundred and seventy miles up the Kworra, as the western branch of the Niger is called, they passed the large town of Rabba, when the *Dayspring* struck upon a rock, and became a total wreck. Disappointed, but not daunted, Mr. Crowther and his companions returned to Rabba, which is a Mahomedan city, and began a mission there. In 1859 he returned overland to Abbeokuta; and in June of the same year again went up the river in a little steamer called the *Sunbeam*. He found that all was going on well at Onitsha and Gbebe, but that, through the influence of the slave-traders, Rabba was closed against him. In 1860 he made preparations for the commencement of a mission at Akassa, a town at the mouth of the Niger; and in 1861 and 1862 he ascended the river for the fifth and sixth times.

The years 1862 and 1863 were years of sore trial for the mission stations. In March 1862, Badahung, the king of Dahomey, being resolved to avenge the defeat his predecessor had sustained, attacked and destroyed Ishaga, an out-station near Abbeokuta. The little flock of Christians were either enslaved or tortured to death. The faithful native teacher was crucified! In 1863 and 1864, Badahung besieged Abbeokuta, but happily, on the fifteenth of March 1864, he was utterly defeated. The haughty savage had caused an open space to be prepared, in which to execute the missionaries in the sight of their people, and so to triumph over the God of the Christians. But *He* heard the cry with which the Christian warriors went into the battle: "O God, arise!"

Through all these years it became more sadly manifest that but little help could be rendered to the heathen in that region by white missionaries. The first bishop of Sierra Leone landed at Free Town on the 26th of December 1852; in 1859 the third died of fever. It became plain to all that there must be a native bishop for the Niger, as well as native missionaries. Mr. Crowther was selected to fill this important position, and, on the 29th of June, 1864, was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Canterbury Cathedral. At the same time the University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

Since his return, Bishop Crowther has been actively engaged in strengthening and extending the operations of his Mission. The three years that have elapsed have been years of opposition and anxiety, but also of success. In the last Annual Report of the Church Missionary Society we find the following "Summary of the Niger Mission:"—

Stations	5
Native Bishop and Clergymen	4
Native Lay Teachers	12
Native Communicants	76
Native Christians	202
Schools	7
Scholars	136

Were our space more ample we could accumulate incidents in the mission-work on the Niger, and detail results that would call forth joyful thanksgivings from all devout minds. But we can only commend to the perusal of all who are interested in missions, Bishop Crowther's "Journals," his "Charge," Miss Childe's "Good out of Evil; or, the Story of England's Black Bishop," the "Annual Reports" of the Church Missionary Society, from 1857 to 1867, the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," for February 1867, and the "Church Missionary Record" for March 1867.—*Christian Times*.

FREEDMEN'S COLUMN.

WHITE AND BLACK FREEDMEN.

There are still people in this country who look with dread to the results of emancipation. Mr. Johnson has prophesied a "war of races," and a good many other weak sisters and grandmothers of both sexes tremble at what may come of this sudden change.

Well, we liberated less than four millions of slaves; the Emperor of Russia set free with a stroke of his pen over twenty-two millions. It will surprise many persons to be told that the Russian Empire still exists; that it is even doing well; it has not become a "prey to anarchy;" that industry does not languish, but, on the contrary, has increased since the Act of Emancipation; that, in short, to open the safety-valve has not burst the boiler, as a good many simple persons imagined it would.

The Russian Emancipation Act dates from 1861. The slaves in the Southern States did not become actually free until 1865. The Russian experiment began really in 1863, and is over two years older than ours; it is found there that schools have rapidly increased, and the freedmen have gradually and peaceably settled down to steady industry, and the experiment approves itself, even to its opponents.

"But the Russian serfs were not black, but white," some will perhaps say. That is very true; but it is remarkable that the advocates of Slavery in Russia, imputed to the white slaves there precisely the same bad and weak qualities which the advocates of black Slavery here impute to the negroes. An article in the current number of the *North-American Review* on emancipation in Russia gives some curious instances of this. How often have we been assured by Southern slaveholders that the negro would not work except under compulsion? Free him, and you ruin the country, they constantly exclaimed. So the Russian master said of his white slaves, "No stick, no work." The negro, as a slave, we were told, was docile, easily attached to his master, indolent, wasteful, improvident, ungrateful, given to lying; the negro men were confirmed thieves, the women unchaste. But all these virtues and vices were attributed in like manner to the white slaves of Russia by their masters. Thus, says the *North-American Review*: "'Sheep-like docility,' an incomparable sweetness of temper, affection for superiors, strong family and religious feeling, hospitality, are allowed them: but frivolity, carelessness, and indolence, are their special traits. They 'appear to have sucked in the propensity to steal with their mother's milk,' and can 'only be driven to industry by the whip, or the burden of a heavy tribute:' while servility abounds, the sentiment of gratitude is almost unknown. According to the author of *Russia by a Recent Traveller* (1859), the physicians give evidence equally discreditable in regard to the purity of women. The familiar refrains are also heard, 'These qualities belong by nature to the Russian peasant,' and 'emancipation would certainly cause the ruin of a great number.'"

Does not this read like a parody of the Southern argument against the humanity of the negro? Finally, the Russian slave was even said to give out a peculiar and disagreeable odour; just what was said of the negro slave of the South.

We need not wonder at this. The master of a slave always seeks to justify his wrong, even before he is accused; he feels it; and his plea for Slavery is often only an unconscious answer to his own conscience, rather than a reply to a special accuser. No doubt the Egyptians urged

that the Israelites would not work without the lash, and would starve if they were set free. In Germany, up to a very recent period, the Jews, hated as a subject and outcast people, were charged with the same impurities and moral defects which were imputed to the black slaves in the Southern States, and to the white slaves in Russia. The Jew was said naturally to give out a disagreeable odour; he was by nature dishonest; he was treacherous, ungrateful, but abjectly servile and cunning; all which was urged against him, to prove that he ought not to have equal rights with "Christians," and the equal protection of the laws.

The latest official accounts from Washington which we have seen, state, that from the 15th to the 25th of August last, the number of applicants for employment at the Freedmen's Bureau in that city, were: males, 99; females, 40; total, 139. The number provided with employment were: males, 42; females, 37; total, 79. Those provided with employment were distributed among the several States as follows: Maine, 1; Connecticut, 11; New York, 4; Michigan, 3; Ohio, 4; Pennsylvania, 6; Rhode Island, 2; Virginia, 2; Maryland, 4; Mississippi, 3; Massachusetts and the District of Columbia, 39.

The following is a statement for the month of July last of the deposits made in the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company, controlled by the Freedmen's Bureau:

Deposited at Augusta, Ga	Dols. 1,870
Baltimore, Md.	7,071
Beaufort, S. C.	17,573
Charleston, S. C.	37,517
Jacksonville, Fla	9,030
Louisville, Ky	9,642
Memphis, Tenn.	2,416
Mobile, Ala	8,925
Nashville, Tenn.	4,754
Newbern, N. C.	3,833
New Orleans, La	8,492
New York	3,285
Norfolk, Va	1,785
Richmond, Va	6,412
Savannah, Ga	5,572
Tallahassee, Fla	3,261
Vicksburg, Miss	2,523
Washington, D. C.	25,621
Wilmington, N. C.	141

Total amount of deposits for the month	159,750
Total amount of drafts for the month	123,607
Excess of deposits over drafts	25,143
Total deposits up to date	2,154,091
Total drafts up to date	1,650,810
Balance due depositors	3,503,108

WILL THESE PEOPLE LEARN?—Is evidence yet wanted of their capability in this direction? When I return to Nashville I shall take with me two Sabbath-School Libraries, the books of which will be read by children, who, *fifteen months since, did not know a letter.* Is it not glorious! They shall read Hannah More, Mrs. Sherwood, our own Rollo, and hundreds of cabins shall be lighted with "The Peep of Day."

The other day I organized a grammar school in Tennessee. It was made up from a school of scholars of a lower grade, which has been in operation just one year. I am by profession a Teacher. I love the occupation. In the course of fifteen years' experience, I have organized several new schools, and I assert gravely that I never saw the machinery of a school so easily arranged and set in motion as was that of this grammar school of late slaves. I taught it myself a week, and it was a sort of vacation to me, it was such a pleasure. There was what one of our college professors calls the "Divine thirst for knowledge;" and so excellent was the conduct of the pupils, that the hours passed only too swiftly, the evening bringing with it, instead of weariness, a pleasant retrospect of a well-spent day.

ANTI-SLAVERY ITEM.

LOYALTY OF THE BLACK POPULATION OF JAMAICA.—The Rev. D. J. East, a Missionary from Jamaica, attended a meeting of the Ladies' Negroes' Friend Society at Birmingham on Thursday the 13th ultimo, and in proof of the loyalty and good order of the peasantry of Jamaica, he mentioned that three days after the news of the disturbance reached him, he took a journey of sixty-five miles in company with one of his daughters, leaving his wife and other children at home, surrounded by black servants, and black students, and black villagers, and not a white man within a mile and a-half of our dwelling, and not a policeman within seven miles of us. "And," he continued, "I well remember meeting a number of intelligent black men, at the time leaders in the church over which I preside, when one of them, repudiating the charge of disloyalty and sedition which had been alleged against his countrymen, turned to me and said, 'Minister, I could shed the last drop of my blood in defence of the British Crown.' And I believe this is the prevailing sentiment of the black population of Jamaica. I may also refer to the encouraging signs of the present hour on the subject of education. During the time of poverty and distress, consequent upon successive years of drought, both our congregations and schools painfully declined. But I am glad to testify that almost all the letters which I have received during the past few months, speak of improvement in these respects with the return of fruitful seasons, and I have no doubt the average attendance will be soon attained. And I am glad to know that the present Government is about to inaugurate a scheme of popular education which promises to give satisfaction to every section of the community."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1867.

NOTICE TO FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

OUR subscribers are respectfully informed that their Annual Contributions to the funds of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* fell due on the 1st of January. All subscribers to the amount of Ten Shillings annually are entitled to receive, post-free, a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and of any tract or pamphlet issued by the Society. To non-subscribers, the *Reporter* is sent on payment of Four Shillings in advance, commencing on the 1st of January. Payments should be made to the Secretary, L. A. Chamerovzow, either in stamps or by Post-office Order, made payable at the Post-office, New Broad Street, E.C., London.

PARIS ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

IN answer to inquiries respecting a report of the proceedings of the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference, we beg to inform our friends that one is in course of preparation. It will be published in the form of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and will comprise a summary of the interesting documents which were contributed. The report will be issued as soon as it can be got through the press, and may be had on application to the Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, No. 27, New Broad-Street, E.C., London.

EARL RUSSELL ON AMERICA.

AMONGST the prominent speakers at the public meeting which succeeded the breakfast given in honour of William Lloyd Garrison, on the 29th of June ultimo,* figured Earl Russell. His Lordship informed the auditory that he joined in the welcome to Mr. Garrison, "as one of his sincere admirers and warm friends," adding that he held "it to be a distinguished honour to be permitted to join in" that "tribute of admiration to" him. Then his lordship

paid the eminent American Abolitionist a well-merited tribute of praise, which must have astounded many present, and perhaps no one more than the object of it. Earl Russell next proceeded to deliver a few common-place remarks on the importance of cultivating "the ties of friendship and affection which ought to unite us with the United States of America," stating further, that considerations derived from affinities of race, identity of religion, and the same love of freedom, "ought to make us perpetually friends." Having said thus much, his lordship felt moved to make a confession, and to do penance in the face of the world. He thought "that when the Slave States of America endeavoured to establish their independence, and at the same time to perpetuate the institution of Slavery, the Northern States ought at once to have proclaimed not only their abhorrence, but the abolition and destruction of Slavery." He pleaded that "distance and want of knowledge of the circumstances of America may have caused" him "to fall into error in that respect, but" he became afterwards convinced by Mr. Adams, United-States' Minister in England, that he (Earl Russell) "did not do justice to the efforts that were made by the United-States' Government;" but he was "now persuaded that Mr. Lincoln did all that it was possible to do," and so forth. As an excuse for his lamentable want of appreciation of Mr. Lincoln's policy, and for his own grave errors in consequence, his lordship alleges that he looked upon the question of emancipation at that time, merely as one "for the liberation of mankind; as a religious question imposed upon us by our adherence to Christianity;" and that he did not realize the fact that Slavery was mixed up with the domestic institutions of the United States; was involved and twisted into all their relations, whether political or social; nor did he consider the difficulty of prevailing on men whose interests were often bound up with the continuance of Slavery, to disentangle all those ties. Nothing of this had his lordship taken into account, hence his failure to do justice to the efforts of the United-States' Government; and hence—we may infer—his culpable bias towards the Confederates, and his course in their favour.

We observe—with considerable surprise and mortification—that certain newspapers whose fidelity to the cause of the North during the war was beyond question—overcome, as it would appear, by Earl Russell's tardy confession, accept it as a proof of repentance, as an earnest of a more enlightened policy in future, and as a complete expiation of past errors. How much

* This Article was originally prepared for insertion in the August number of the *Reporter*.—(Ed. A. S. R.)

better were it for the cause of civilization and human progress, in general, if those who assume the responsibilities of publicensorship, would test statesmen by the standard they themselves set up, nor permit them ever to secure credit and glory when their portion should be condemnation and loss of confidence. We can understand the cheers which would follow a statement so plausible as Earl Russell's, made in the presence of a large assemblage, on its best behaviour under the immediate gaze of aristocratic eyes, and in a measure overawed by their condescension in bestowing a glance upon the plebeian multitude. Toadyism—which may be explained as a cringing deference to mere rank and station—is the national characteristic, and dukes, and lords, and sprigs of nobility, are consequently not judged by the severer standard which brings common folk to their proper level. But truth ought to prevail, and fidelity to the great cause of human freedom—outraged by Slavery—demands at the hands of its professed advocates no compromise with lukewarm supporters, any more than with declared antagonists, and above all the exposure of what is hollow and unsound in the conduct of self-avowed friends.

In our estimation, Earl Russell is, with reference to this question, either a self-deceived man or singularly uncandid. If he, looking at the question from the highest standing-point, felt disappointed because the North did not, at the outset, proclaim emancipation, his disappointment was no excuse for the greater favour with which—judging him by his policy—he regarded the attempt of the South to establish its independence “and at the same time to perpetuate Slavery.” His plea of ignorance is simply a shameful one; we believe it to be an untrue one. So eminent an authority on contemporaneous history could not possibly be ignorant that the institution of Slavery was interwoven with all political and social questions in the United States; but if indeed in this he avow the truth, he is the more culpable for the encouragement he gave to the South and its partisans in this country, as well as in their own, by uttering the equivocal dogma, that “the North is fighting for empire, the South for independence.” These words travelled throughout the land, and were skilfully used by the supporters of the slave-holders' rebellion as indicating what the Foreign Minister of the day thought of the struggle. Ignorance of the merits of so important a question, should have been the last plea in the mouth of Earl Russell. As a Minister charged with the responsibility of conducting our foreign policy, his want of knowledge was highly dangerous to the public interests

and to the peace of the world, as it was to the cause of which he professes to be the friend. Besides, Mr. Adams was within consulting distance, and would have enlightened him at once, had his lordship felt disposed to seek information at that time, as we are led to conclude, from his confession, he condescended to do later; probably after the Confederacy had collapsed, and ignorance was no longer political bliss.

But we would ask, in what condition of mind was Earl Russell when the notorious “298” was on the eve of her departure on her piratical cruise against the commerce of the United States? Was it to prove his warm admiration for the cause Mr. Garrison was defending, and to which Mr. Lincoln fell a martyr, that, with precise information in his possession of the suspicious origin, construction, and equipment of the “Alabama,” and of her notoriously equivocal movements, he nevertheless allowed most valuable time to pass without instructing the authorities to act; and that when he did, at last, issue his orders, it was done in such a way, as to afford her commander an easy opportunity of slipping out of port, under pretext of a trial cruise? Again, when steam-rams for the same ignoble and desperate service were being constructed at Liverpool, was it his deep interest in the cause of emancipation that led to his lordship's inaction, until public opinion having made itself heard in a tone not to be resisted, he was compelled to instruct the officers of the Crown to lay an embargo upon them, or incur the risk of a rupture with the people and the Government of the United States, with whom “we ought to be perpetually at peace.”

Yet further. Does his lordship's correspondence with Mr. Adams, on the subject of the “Alabama claims” disclose a remarkably friendly feeling towards the United States' Government? A point blank refusal to refer those claims to arbitration as suggested by that Government, assuredly offers a very weak proof of the sincerity of the professed desire “to draw closer the ties of friendship and affection which ought to unite us with the United States of America,” and leaves to Earl Russell no possible apology, no tangible excuse for his conduct throughout the late war.

It was sheer absurdity, too, on his lordship's part, if nothing worse, to endeavour to convey the impression, because Slavery was in fact more intimately mixed up with the political and social life of the American people than in our own case, that he was unable to realize the difficulties they had to encounter in their endeavours to rid the nation of the curse. His lordship would assuredly not contend that emancipation

in this country was obtained without difficulty! He durst never allege that it was not resisted to the very last by its aristocratic supporters, by their connections, by the Church, by a large number of what are called the privileged classes, and by the bulk of the press. With the impediments the anti-Slavery movement encountered from these parties his lordship is well acquainted; as he ought to be who was no indifferent looker-on. It required on his part a very slight effort of imagination to conceive how—under the circumstances he details with such minuteness—the bitterness of party-feeling here, at that time, would be intensified and aggravated in the United States; even if he could have mistaken the significance of the outrage committed upon the distinguished Bostonian Senator who was more than once his guest, and who, almost as by a miracle, was saved from death under the blow of the ruffian Preston R. Brooks. Nor could his lordship plead ignorance of the infamous Fugitive Slave-law; nor of the equally abominable local statutes of the Slave States which consigned Manuel Pereira, a coloured British subject, to prison, because the vessel he served in had the misfortune to be driven into Charleston harbour by stress of weather. To admit that Earl Russell was ignorant of the true character of American Slavery, in all its ramifications, is to concede that the Foreign Minister of the day was politically purblind, and conducting the external policy of the country in the dark. It is self-evident that such a plea must be rejected.

It may not be irrelevant, either, to inquire, whether it was his lordship's desire to cultivate friendly relations with the United-States' Government that prompted him to acquiesce so readily in the hasty, ill-advised course of Lord Palmerston, in the case of the "Trent." In this instance war was rendered imminent, because an over-zealous Northern captain, acting under mistaken views of international law, arrested two traitors on the high seas, who had placed themselves on board a British vessel, the more easily to evade capture. It will not soon be forgotten, that the country was saddled with an expenditure of two millions sterling, for an empty, but dangerous warlike demonstration against the United States, by the sudden despatch of troops to Canada, although at that very time the Prime Minister had in his pocket the official assurance of the United-States' Government that the question should be examined upon its merits, should be referred to the decision of the law-courts, and justice be done. In urging his plea to extenuate his past course in relation

to America, his lordship evidently gave his auditors credit for very indifferent memories, or he relied implicitly upon their capacity for gullibility.

But how, in the face of these facts, account for Earl Russell's presence at the Garrison banquet-meeting? The reply is simple enough. Mr. Garrison represented a triumphant cause. His lordship could gain laurels, could secure a certain amount of useful sympathy, of political capital, by appearing in the throng assembled to do honour to the great American Abolitionist. His policy towards the United States during the rebellion—varying according to the fortunes of the rebels in the field—had left unpleasant reminiscences, which it was desirable to obliterate. What more likely to conciliate than to make a public confession of past error, and to unite in the cry, "Vive Garrison?"

Yet, after all, what is the value of this confession? What does his lordship confess? Simply that he had misjudged Mr. Lincoln! But this is not the head and front of Earl Russell's offence. His error was, that he favoured the slave-holders' confederacy; that he halted between two opinions. Holding with the Northern anti-Slavery hare—if we are to give him credit for sincerity—he ran with the pro-Slavery hounds. How could such a man be really a warm friend of William Lloyd Garrison's, and an admirer of his life of self-sacrifice, when he was doing every thing that lay in his power to help forward the detestable cause Garrison was labouring to destroy, even at the risk of his life. To pursue the subject further would be useless. We have discharged our conscience, and hope we have said enough to demonstrate that at this eleventh hour recantation comes all too late, is very hollow, and has not deluded everybody.

DR. LIVINGSTONE.

We should greatly rejoice to learn that the slender hopes which are entertained in some quarters, of Dr. Livingstone's safety, have been confirmed, and converted into a certainty. The following letter referred to in our Summary is from Mr. J. S. Moffat—son of the late Dr. Moffat—and the brother-in-law of Dr. Livingstone. It is perhaps the most encouraging communication yet received:

Claremont, Sept. 17, 1867.

People are incessantly asking me whether I have not given up all hope respecting Dr. Livingstone. There appears to me no necessity for us to make up our minds on the subject at present. I put off writing to you until we should hear once more from England, and as no further intel-

ligence about Dr. Livingstone has been received, I shall say once for all what appears to me to be the state of the case.

All the evidence to the effect that Dr. Livingstone was murdered by the Mazite comes through one channel, namely, the Johanna men, with Moussa at their head. Two or three different accounts have been given by these men, and no one account is reconcilable with the others. I will not occupy space or time by going into details, but any one may satisfy himself on this point.

Reports have been received through other channels, not corroborating, but absolutely contradicting the account given by the Johanna men. Arab traders have come from the immediate vicinity of the spot where the murder is alleged to have occurred, and yet have not heard of an event which could not have failed to cause a good deal of excitement through an extended region. A message has been sent to the Sultan of Zanzibar by a chief inland that Livingstone had passed his territories alive and well at a point beyond the scene of the supposed murder.

What has become of the Africans who were with Livingstone? He started from the coast with three sorts of people. The sepoys soon came back, unable to bear the hardships of the climate and journey. The Johanna men came back with the story which has made so much noise in the world; but where are the negroes, of whom there were nine or ten, who had been sent with Livingstone, and the sepoys from Bombay? It is not said that they were killed. What has become of them?

Great stress is laid on Dr. Kirk's opinion. Granted. No man is better qualified to judge. But has he made up his mind? He wrote at the first blush of the affair, and said he feared it was true. A month later he wrote and said it was not well to go spreading reports and putting things in the papers; we had better wait for more evidence. I am not aware that he expressed himself very decidedly since then.

The continued silence of Dr. Livingstone is said to look bad. How long has he been silent? Not much more than twelve months. He was silent longer than that when he crossed the continent further south at a narrower place. I myself have been twelve months without communication with the civilized regions as those to which Livingstone was directing his course when the Johanna men say he was killed. If Livingstone is off the caravan routes which lead to the coast near Zanzibar, he is not likely to find any one to carry his letters. If, as I think quite possible, the negroes are still with him, having got so far, he would not be likely to return, but would continue his journey, and I should not be in the least surprised if he turned up in some most unexpected quarter.

Probably the Johanna men, like their neighbours on the continent, can tell most circumstantial lies. My father has been killed and buried, too, before now, with all the necessary formalities; and so have I, on a smaller scale.

My own belief is, that when the Johanna men found that Livingstone was going into a region

too remote for their taste, they did what many servants, black and white, have done before them—took to their heels some fine night when the explorer was asleep, and made the best of their way back to Zanzibar.—I am, &c.,

JOHN SMITH MOFFAT.

SLAVERY AND SLAVE-LIFE IN BRAZIL.

We continue Mr. Redpath's letters on the above-named subjects.

CHRISTMAS ON THE PLANTATION.

Mr. Gardner gives a description of negro festivities at Christmas on a Brazilian plantation:

"It being Christmas-day on which we arrived, and a great holiday, we found the whole of the slaves belonging to the estate, amounting to about one hundred, dancing in the yard before the house, and all attired in new suits of clothes, which had been sent to them the day before.

"In the evening a party of the best-conducted, principally Creoles, were admitted into the verandah of the house, where I had a good opportunity of witnessing their dances, some of them not being very delicate. One of the best was a kind of dramatic dance, of which the following is a programme:

"Near the door of a house belonging to a padre (priest), a young fellow commences dancing and playing on the viola, a kind of guitar. The padre hears the noise, and sends out one of his servants to ascertain the cause. He finds the musician dancing to his own strains, and tells him that he is sent by his master to inquire why he is thus disturbed. The musician tells him that he is making no disturbance at all, but only trying a new dance from Bahia, which he saw the other day at the Diario.

"The servant asks if it is a good one.

"'Oh! very good!' replies the other; 'will you not try it?'

"The servant claps his hand, cries, 'Let the padre go to sleep,' and immediately joins in the dance. The same thing is repeated till the padre's servants—men, women, and children—amounting to about twenty, are dancing in a circle before the house.

"Last of all, the supposed padre himself makes his appearance in a great rage, dressed in a large poncho for a gown, a broad-brimmed black straw hat, and a mask with a long beard to it. He demands the cause of the noise, which, he says, prevents him from enjoying his dinner.

"The musician tells him the same story that was told to his servants, and, after much persuasion, gets him to join in the dance also. He dances with as much zeal as any of them; but, watching his opportunity, he takes out a whip which he has concealed under his gown, and, lashing the whole of them out of the apartment, finishes the performance.

"'After an experience of five years among the Brazilians,' says Mr. Gardner near the close of his volume, 'I must say of them that they are far from being hard task-masters, and that with

very few exceptions I found them kind and considerate to their slaves; and at another place, some hundred pages apart, 'at the same time I could not but exclaim with Sterne: Still, Slavery, still thou art a bitter draught.'

UN COMPTE RENDU.

[1848.]—Dr. Alp Rendu travelled in Brazil by order of the French Minister of Public Instruction, to study the ordinary diseases of that country. On his return to Paris, he published a volume of "Studies—Topographical, Medical and Agricultural—on Brazil." He devotes one section to Slavery. His opinions are what we have always in America styled the conservative pro-slavery creed; stripped of its illustrations, and, in brief, this—that Slavery is a curse, but that abolition would be a misfortune both to the country and the negro; that the black is but little susceptible of civilization; that he is naturally lazy, and, even when industrious as a slave, would become an indolent thing in a state of freedom; and that, while Slavery is a moral calamity, as everybody knows, premature emancipation would entail misfortunes of which no one can foresee the end. His plan of abolition is to declare free all children who are born of slave parents; but, to preserve them from the pernicious influence of their begetters, the government shall take charge of the children! Government, in other words—which, even in our land, is so often asked to wet-nurse industrial projects—shall become "damp-child's maid," and, in very deed, of all the young blacks in Brazil. What a stupendously mammoth nursery our Frenchman would establish!

Leaving his speculations to die the death of the absurd, we come to his specific statements. Slaves, he says, in the service of Brazilians, are generally treated with mildness; but woe to those who fall into the hands of foreigners! These, anxious to realize the hopes of fortune of which they dreamed, impatient, and possessed of but a single thought, that of returning to their native country, hesitate at no means of achieving their object. Every sentiment of humanity seems dead in them. Their slaves, badly clad, badly lodged, badly fed, are oppressed with fatigue, and often beaten. There are some exceptions, but they are too rare.

The Doctor then states at greater length than we care to follow, that masters as a whole are unjustly suspicious of the sickness of their slaves. Maladies are so often feigned that they frequently discredit real cases of disease, and hence considerable suffering is unnecessarily endured by the invalid negroes: in the actual state of things, unhappy in his condition, borne down by excessive toil, he has no desire to form enduring alliances; and, on her side, the negress is averse to giving birth to a being who must be as miserable as herself. The meals are taken in common, in a shady spot. That of the morning is light, and consists of the flour of manioc or of millet, with some fruit or a little cane brandy. Toward the middle of the day the slaves eat flesh or fish. The evening meal is composed of beans, rice, or other vegetables. This diet is not bad, although one might wish that it were more varied. No-

thing, for example, would be easier than to add fresh vegetables. The richness of vegetation would render this addition very inexpensive, and the health of the slaves would be sensibly ameliorated by it.

While in Africa the blacks are naked, or nearly so, it is a detestable custom of Brazil to keep them not properly clad. The climate of this country is less warm, and much more humid, than that of Africa, and hence one of the principal causes of the diseases which exist among the blacks ought to be attributed to the lack of clothing. Many of the proprietors give their slaves a single pair of cotton pantaloons only. Others add to it a shirt of the same stuff, and at night they sleep on a piece of matting, in a place often unhealthy, where, to protect themselves from the humidity and the cold, they have only a poor woollen blanket. In other fazendas, however, the slaves are better cared for. In addition to the preceding objects, they are furnished with a bonnet and a woollen shirt. Every Sunday their effects are changed, and an examination is made to see whether they have not sold their mats or blankets, which often happens.

The slaves employed on the *fazendas* are usually well fed, and they add to their rations vegetables, which they raise themselves, and dried meat and fish: however, it often happens that these last substances are neither good in kind, nor in quantity sufficient.

It is not thus with those employed in working mines, in washing gold and searching for diamonds, &c. Too often they receive the smallest possible rations—a deplorable economy, as injurious to the unfortunate negroes as prejudicial to the interests of the masters. The insufficiency of alimentation brings about an enfeeblement of the force, which in its turn produces mortality, and is the cause of considerable loss, which an inhuman parsimony does not compensate.

The Doctor twice recurs to the sad fate of slaves that were held by foreigners: these, he says, are hardly allowed time for sleep or rest.

Slaves take no interest in their labours, nor are they physically capable of doing so much work as a free man, because the appetite of gain sustains the one, while the fear of chastisement is the sole incentive of the other. Perpetual vigilance is the price of slave-labour, and unflinching blows for the loiterer. However active the driver, if he had not the resource of the whip against the slaves, he would get nothing out of them—absolutely nothing.

Chastisements are of two kinds: in one, they put around the neck of the guilty slave a ring of iron, surmounted by a stem of the same metal, which causes more or less torture; the other consists of lashes of a whip, the number of which vary according to the gravity of the offence. In the fazendas, the punishments are inflicted in the presence of all the slaves. At Rio de Janeiro the offenders are taken to the House of Correction, where they receive the chastisements they have incurred. During their stay in this establishment, they are employed in public works of utility.

Marriages between slaves are rare in Brazil, and while adulterous miscegenation is common,

it is seldom followed by fecundation. Frequently, also, when the negress becomes pregnant, she averts the issue, and thus the number of births is far from being in proportion to the figures of mortality among the blacks. The same thing happens at Brazil, which is noticed daily in the bagnes of Europe. The black who has passed some time in a House of Correction leaves it worse than when he entered it. Dangerous for his companions in servitude, he will certainly become one of the scourges of the country if he happens to escape from the house of his master.

The Doctor does not see how these facts destroy his preliminary statements that Slavery is a mild institution in Brazil, and they may be left to show how self-contradictory capable writers become when they permit their prejudices to mould their philosophy, but are too honest to suppress what they see of real life.

It is a fact, the Doctor states, that in well-directed establishments, where the slaves are treated with justice and humanity, marriages are contracted among them, and that the births not only compensate for the deaths, but surpass them in number.

ON INTERMARRIAGES.

[1853].—Mr. William Hadfield, for many years a resident of Brazil, and Secretary of the British South-American Steam Navigation Company, in his volume on "Brazil, the River Platte and the Falkland Island," writes in the interest of the whites, and has but little to say respecting Slavery. In speaking of the Indians, he says that some of the tribes exhibit an extraordinary antipathy to the negroes, "which is the more remarkable, as the marriages of people of colour with whites are very common, and degrees of black that would throw a citizen of the United States into a fever of indignation are looked upon with philosophic indifference, both by Brazilians and natives of Portugal in Spain." Probably, he adds, this is one reason why slaves in Brazil are treated with a kindness and humanity altogether "unequalled in any other part of the world."

Mr. Hadfield indorses the statement of an Englishman long resident in Brazil, who wrote, in 1854, that the people were more anxious to put an end to Slavery than they had credit for, "on account of the point of civilization they had come to, and on account of the circumstance of its being in their interest."

WHAT MR. EW BANK SAW AND SAYS.

[1855].—THOMAS EW BANK, in his interesting and finely-illustrated volume on "Life in Brazil, or a Journey to the Land of the Cocoa and the Palm," (New York: Harpers, Brothers,) has furnished us, more fully than any other American, with important information as to the condition of the negroes and workings of the "Domestic Institution" in that empire.

Not far from the capital, there is an old estate which Mr. Ewbank visited. It had been in the family for several generations. The mother of the present proprietor, a venerable lady of ninety, recently deceased, kept them up to her death. Carefully instructing the slaves, the first thing

she taught them was to address the Virgin. Every night the bell on the portico, which awoke them to work, and called them from it, summoned them to prayers, which, as surviving head of the family, she read. As soon as they were concluded, her children, grandchildren, and any other relatives present, saluted her, and each slave, in passing out, asked and received her blessing for the night. She sometimes roused all, blacks and whites, at matins at two o'clock in the morning. One old negro troubled her exceedingly. "Work, work, work, all day," he would say, "and pray, pray, pray, all night—no negro stand that."

At the Brazilian eating-houses the author saw young coloured men come in, sit down, without hesitation, at the same table with whites, and, on a perfect equality, take part in the conversation.

Again, he says, that as the omnibus from Boto-Fogo stopped at the door, he saw three blacks seated among the white gentlemen. This is common. A free negro in decent attire, implied by the expression "wearing shoes and a neckcloth," can take his seat in places of public resort and conveyance as freely as persons of the lightest complexion. The Constitution recognises no distinction based on colour.

All kinds of trades are carried on by black journeymen and boys. Mr. Ewbank saw slaves, even, working as carpenters, masons, pavers, printers, sign and ornamental painters, fabricators of military ornaments, carriage and cabinet-makers, lamp-makers, silversmiths, jewellers and lithographers. It is also a fact that sculptures in stone, and saintly images in wood, are often done admirably by slaves and free blacks. A little gray-headed fellow, an old African, begs in the Cattete, who was once noted as an excellent sculptor, but now is an habitual drunkard. A man mentioned to Mr. Ewbank one slave who was a first-rate workman in sacred carving in Bahia.

This author saw four boat-loads of newly-arrived Africans. Next to no secrecy was used in carrying on the traffic.

CRUELITIES OF SLAVERY.

Scattered throughout his pleasant volume there are many indications that Slavery in Brazil is a very cruel barbarism.

"A Portuguese," he writes, "in the neighbourhood, has the reputation of being unusually cruel to his slaves. One goes past the windows for water three or four times a day, in an iron collar, with an upright prong at one ear and a shorter one under the other. There he is again! and behind him a lad not over twelve, belonging to the same owner, wearing a similar instrument with a prong behind." Slaves, he says, are beasts of draught as well as of burden. The loads they drag and the roads they drag them over, are enough to kill both mules and horses. No wonder that slaves shockingly crippled in their lower limbs are so numerous. "There waddled before me," he writes, "in a manner distressing to behold, a man whose thighs and legs curved so far outward that his trunk was not over fifteen inches from the ground. It

appeared sufficiently heavy without the loaded basket on his head, to snap the osseous stem and drop between his feet. I observed another whose knees crossed each other, and his feet preternaturally apart, as if superincumbent loads had pushed his knees in instead of out. The lamp-lighter of the Cattete district exhibits another variety. His body is settled low down, his feet are drawn both to one side, so that his legs are parallel at an angle of 30 degrees! The heads of Africans are hard, their necks strong, and both being perpendicular to the loads they are called to support, are seldom injured. It is the lower part of the moving columns, where the weights are alternately thrown on and off the jointed thighs and legs, that are the weakest. These necessarily are the first to give way under excessive burdens, and here are examples of their having yielded and broken down in every direction."

"IN A MILD FORM!"

Here is another glimpse of Slavery as it is seen in the streets of Rio de Janeiro: "Neither age nor sex is free from shackles. I met this morning a very handsome Mozambique girl, with a double-pronged collar on. She could not have been over sixteen. And a few evenings ago, while standing on the balcony of a house in Custom-House street, a little old negress, four-fifths naked, toddled past, in the middle of the street, with an enormous tub of swill on her head, and secured by a lock and chain to her neck. 'Explain that, Mr. C——,' said I. 'Oh she is going to empty slops on the beach, and very probably in the habit of visiting vendas, she is thus prevented, as the offensive vessel would not be admitted. Some slaves have been known to sell their "barils" for rum, and such are sent to the fountains and to the Praya as that old woman is.'"

Whatever is the cause, blindness is exceedingly prevalent among the slaves. It is distressing to meet so often one or more bearing full "barils" on their head, rolling their sightless eyeballs and feeling their weary way with sticks.

Lithographic scenes of life in Brazil, designed and published by native artists, portray slaves in shackles as freely as in their labours and their pastimes. At most of the smiths' shops, slaves' collars are exposed, as horse-shoes are with our blacksmiths—with gyves, chains and the like.

Masks and prongs are often seen in the streets on the necks and faces of slaves. The mask is worn to prevent the negro from drinking. Mr. Ewbank saw three or four masked female slaves. Masks are much less used than formerly, as there is a prejudice growing up against them. Cuts of these two instruments of torture, and others for the same purpose, may be seen in Mr. Ewbank's book.

But these are not the only worst contrivances. The author saw instruments of torture so cruel and heavy—shackles for binding the ankles and wrists close together, and consequently doubling the bodies of the victims into the most painful and unnatural positions—that, had he not seen them, he would hardly have thought that such things were. He saw shackles, in one shop, made of bar-

iron, three inches wide and three-eighths of an inch thick! Each consisted of three pieces, bent, jointed and fastened. A screw-bolt drew the straight parts close together. The distance from joint to joint was two feet.

A native merchant told Mr. Ewbank that another common punishment was to inclose the legs in wooden shackles or stocks. Some owners fasten their hands in similar devices, and some, again, retain relics of the old thumb-screws to lock those members together. In the Northern provinces, according to this authority, the slaves are much worse used than in Rio: there it is no uncommon thing to tie their hands and feet together, hoist them off the ground, and then '*beat them as near to death as possible*.' A heavy log fastened by a chain to the neck or leg of a slave who has absconded or who is supposed to be inclined to run away, is a usual punishment and precaution. He is compelled to labour with it, laying it on the ground when at work, and bearing it under his arm or on his shoulder when he moves.

Here is a picture which can hardly be taken as an illustration of the "mildness" of Brazilian Slavery:

"I dined one Sunday with a party at the beautiful and hospitable retreat of Messrs. M—— and M'G——, at Boto-Fogo. Strolling along up an adjacent mount, I was very much startled by two of the most frightful-looking and unfortunate of human beings rushing suddenly out of the bushes in front of me; negroes of middle age, and wholly naked, except filthy rags round their loins. Each had an iron ring about his neck, connected by an ox-chain to shackles at his ankles. By another chain one hand of each were locked together. They bent forward, kneeled, held out their arms, sobbed, cried, screamed and made such frightfully agonizing supplications, that I have often thought neither criminals condemned to die, nor even souls in Purgatory, could make such moving appeals. Poor fellows! I did not make out what they asked for—money, victuals, or intercession with their master, the owner of the hill and of a neighbouring quarry, in which he employed over two hundred slaves. These two had attempted to escape, and, when not at work, were ordered to this sequestered spot, and forbidden to leave it."

CHAPLAIN STEWART'S TESTIMONY.

[1856] C. S. STEWART, Chaplain on the U. S. ship *Congress*, says that, on landing at Rio de Janeiro, one of the first impressions made on the foreigner is the fearfully mongrel aspect of much of the population claiming to be white. Mulattoes, quadroons and demi-quadroons, and every other degree of tinted complexion and crisped hair, met at every turn, indicate an almost unlimited extent of mixed blood. This, he adds, cannot fail to be revolting, at least to a visitor from the Northern States of our country, especially as exhibited in the female portion of the lower orders of the community, as they hang over the under half of the doors of their houses, gazing up and down the street, or lean—black, white and yellow—three and four together, in the closest juxtaposition from their latticed windows.

In a squad of sixteen dragoons he found every shade from snowy to sooty, from crispy black to flaxen hair. Such, he asserts, in a greater or less degree, is the mixture seen in every sphere of common life, domestic, social, civil and military; and scarcely less frequently than elsewhere in the vestibule of the palace and at the altars of the church.

Mr. Stewart does not question the sincerity of the Emperor in desiring at least to abolish the slave-trade. His noble regard for the highest interests of the nation, (remarks the Chaplain,) has been strikingly manifested in successful efforts to persuade those around him of paramount influence in the various provinces, of the evil and reproach of a continued connivance—in disregard of national faith given by treaty—at the slave-trade, and of the ultimate inevitable disadvantage and disaster to the country of a more extended slave population. So zealously and so wisely has he urged his views of public policy on this point—though in the face of long-established national prejudice as to the necessity of slave-labour—that the Legislature, sustained in the measure by their constituents, have pronounced the slave-trade piracy, and enacted rigorous laws against it. This has been accomplished, according to Mr. Stewart, by demonstrating to the agriculturists of the empire the economy and advantages of free labour through colonization from Europe over that of slaves, and by enactments for the encouragement of emigration from abroad.

Mr. Stewart witnessed a slave auction sale, and his account of it does not shew that these vendues are entitled to rank, in point of decorum even, over those of Confederate Richmond. He says that there were eight or ten slaves for sale, varying in age from boyhood and girlhood to years of maturity and middle life.

"They stood meekly and submissively, though evidently anxious and sad, under the interrogations and examinations of the bidders, and a rehearsal and laudation by the auctioneer of their different available working qualities and dispositions—their health, strength and power of endurance. All in their turn were made to mount an elevated platform, to display their limbs almost to nakedness, and exhibit their muscular power by various gymnastics, like a horse in his movements and actions before the bidders at Tattersall's. They were rapidly knocked down, at prices varying from two hundred to a thousand and more milreis—that is, from one to five hundred and more dollars."

LIFE ON THE PLANTATION.

Mr. Stewart gives us a glimpse into a plantation life in Brazil, such as John Mitchell and his fat coloured servants (spelled with two g's) might have envied:

"The work of the estate," he writes, "is performed by slaves, of whom, including women and children, there are thirty-three on the premises. They are well fed, well clothed, and well treated, and seem to be contented and happy. Their master is a humane and kind man, and intends to give to all their freedom, in earnest of which he has already manumitted several, who still continue with him, and to whom he pays regular

wages. The children come round him at his call with laughter and gambols, and scramble playfully for the biscuit and cakes and the other niceties which he carries with him from the dining-hall for the purpose of distributing among them. The gardens are under the care of females exclusively, the superintendent, of the same sex, being thoroughly skilled in the business. Every thing in that department is under her sole direction, from the turning over of the earth for planting to the gathering of the produce and the arrangement of it in panniers for the market. All hands are turned out for work at daybreak; are mustered by name, and receive orders from their master at a window of his room."

AN OLD "RELIGIOUS" CUSTOM.

"A custom is observed here, and, I am told, in all well-regulated families in Brazil, which, were it any thing more than an unmeaning form, would be interesting. It is the asking of a blessing from the master every morning and every evening at the close of the day's work, by all the slaves, of both sexes and of every age. The full form of words is the following:

"I beseech your blessing, (or grant me a blessing,) in the name of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ!"

"To which the master replies:

"Jesus Christ bless you for ever!"

"But it is the usage to epitomize these expressions by the interchange of the shortest possible abbreviations of them, and in words rather startling, at first, to the ear uninformed of the designed object; the slaves, as they present themselves, merely exclaiming, in all manner of intonations of voice and in every mood of humour:

"Jesus Christ!"

"While the master, be he talking or laughing, eating or drinking, or in whatever way employed, without any interruption, and seemingly without any regard to the import of the salutation, as abruptly replies:

"Siempre!" (for ever).

"The effect last night was quite ludicrous, as fifteen or twenty men and women came in from labour in the fields—probably weary and hungry, and impatient of any delay—and thrust their heads rapidly, one after another, into the windows and doors of the verandah, as we were at the tea table, with the above exclamation of two words only, followed instantly by the single voice of the master, much in the manner of a *feu de joie*.

"No bell, nor similar means of summoning the outdoor servants is used; but the clear, trumpet-like voice of the master is heard, far and wide, sending forth with a distinctness not to be mistaken the names of those needed."

PUNISHMENT FOR WOMAN SCOURGERS.

THERE appears to be a greater sense of justice in North Carolina than in England, though the latter claims the foremost rank as a humane nation, while the latter

bears the worst character for severity of treatment of the negro race. Up to the present time, Governor Eyre has escaped the penalties he so richly merits for his murderous acts, including the whipping of women in a state of pregnancy, wrongfully accused, and guiltless of crime or offence. Let us, nevertheless, hope the day will yet come when a General Sickles, embodied in the form of a sound British jury, will condemn the assassins of Gordon and the woman-whippers to the pains and penalties they deserve.

The case to which we would draw attention was as follows, but we quite concur in the views of the editor of the *Advertiser*:

In February last, Abram Jenkins, a justice of the peace, and George H. Mitchell, took a girl, named Phillis Ruffin, from a schoolhouse near Harmon's Cross Roads in North Carolina, and conveyed her to an adjacent piece of woods, where they inflicted one hundred and twenty-six lashes upon her. They were arrested and tried before a military court at Plymouth, N.C., in June, and sentenced as follows: Jenkins to be confined at hard labour for one month and fined twenty dollars; Mitchell to be confined at hard labour for three months and fined seventy-five dollars.

General Sickles, in approving this sentence, says: "It appears that the daughter of one of the prisoners, having attempted to beat a young coloured girl, met with resistance, which became successful, and resulted in the chastisement of the white by the black. This unlooked-for reversal of a long-accustomed relation filled the neighbourhood with consternation and rage. Couriers passed to and fro from farm to farm, inflaming the temper of the people, and concerting measures to produce terror among the negroes. A meeting of citizens was convened at a schoolhouse near the residences of the parties. The accused were among those assembled. The magistrate, Jenkins, was invited to lend the sanction of his presence, and did so. Phillis, the young freedwoman, was sent for. Dragged before this self-constituted conclave of angry men, whom she had been accustomed from infancy to call masters, some of whom she now heard urging her incarceration, while one swore she would be hung, and all agreed that she must be imprisoned or whipped, the frightened girl exclaimed that she had rather be whipped than go to jail. This was taken as the expression of the assent, which they desired. Some sort of writing was drawn up called an indenture, by which Phillis, having signed it, was made to bind herself as an apprentice to one Mrs. Harmon, who thereupon consented that her so-called ward should be flogged.

"Quite enough was thought to have been then conceded to the mockery of legal formalities, and the impatient assemblage, consisting of all the prisoners who had been convicted, except the magistrate, hastened to execute the penalty awarded. Phillis was conducted into an adjacent wood, where, at a spot some sixty yards remote from the road, she was halted and told

to take down her dress. She not obeying with alacrity, one of the prisoners snatched it off her shoulders. Stripped to her waist, except of her chemise, she was then whipped by five of these men in succession, by whom, according to the testimony of one of them, one hundred and twenty-six lashes were inflicted upon her half-naked body, with rods three feet long and one-half to three-eighths of an inch thick. Her garment was cut through and through; blood ran from the wales raised on her lacerated back; one gash in her flesh, three days after, shewed four inches in length; the heavy blows fell upon her person at random; she was pushed; she was pulled; she was kicked in the abdomen; till at last it seems that one of the accused, an applauding bystander, not utterly insensible to the sufferings and sex of the wretched victim, was so far touched by the spectacle of her torture, that the cry was wrung from him, 'Boys, don't hurt her breast!'

"Having satiated their savage vengeance, her tormentors, fatigued by their exertions, withdrew; not, however, without considering the proposal of one of their number to return and give her ten more lashes each, to stop her screaming. Finally, the poor child, wounded and groaning, was permitted to make her way to the house of her mistress, where for days she suffered, scarcely able to crawl to her unremitted task, or even to wear her clothes without pain. In the revolting crime thus briefly outlined, all of these prisoners are shown to be eager participants. In the interest of outraged justice, it is to be deplored that the perpetrators have been adjudged to undergo punishments so inadequate to the enormity of the offence.

"The proceedings and findings are approved, and in view of the delay, which would result from revision, the sentences are approved, and the common jail at Plymouth is designated as the place of confinement. The commander of the post of Plymouth will see that the sentences are executed.

"By command of Major-Gen. D. E. Sickles, J. W. Clous, Capt. 38th United-States' Infantry, A. D. C., and A. A. A. G."

The *New-York Commercial Advertiser* well says, "It would have been better in this case to have made the penalty exactly equal to the offence, and give each of these gentlemanly brutes one hundred and twenty-six lashes on the bare back."

THE NEW PRESIDENT OF HAYTI.

The *New-York Tribune* gives the following brief notice of General Salnave, the recently elected President of Hayti:

General Turin Salnave, the new President of Hayti, is a man of whose former history but little is known. The first that was heard of him in this country was his alleged participation, in July 1864, in an attempt to assassinate one of President Geffard's ministers. He was condemned to death by court-martial, but escaped to San Domingo. In May 1865 he placed himself at the head of an insurrectionary move-

ment in the northern part of the Republic. On the ninth of May he organized a provisional government, and on the next day he took possession of Cape Haytien. The insurrection was unsuccessful. The insurgents, at the beginning of June, were shut up in Cape Haytien, where Salnave maintained himself until November, when a difficulty which he had with the English Consul led to the bombardment of Cape Haytien by English vessels. When his position became hopeless, Salnave took refuge on board the American steamer *De Soto*, which conveyed him to the Dominican port of Monte Christi. After the success of the insurrection in the earlier part of the present year, public opinion seemed to be unanimous in designating Salnave as the ablest man for the Presidency. He accordingly assumed the Government as provisional President, and, as our latest despatches from Hayti indicate, has just been elected President by an unanimous vote.

DEATH OF AN AFRICAN KING.

A RECENT number of the *Times* says :

From advices by the French mail, from the West Coast of Africa, we learn of the death of the warrior chief Mabba, who has for the last six years been a fearful scourge among the native tribes inhabiting the countries bordering on the English and French territories in the Senegambia. Mabba, in 1861, was a chief of but little importance in the kingdom of Baddiboo. He was, however, a staunch Mohammedan, and, watching his opportunity in that year, he rebelled against his pagan king, put him to death, and assumed the supreme rule of the country. With fire and sword he established the religion of Islam, killing all those who would not shave their heads, and swear on the Korán their adherence to his faith. This fanatical warrior, elated by the success he had obtained over his negro brethren, in June 1866 sent an invading army into the British territory on the Gambia; but he was repulsed, and sustained great losses from the able strategy of the Governor, Colonel D'Arcy. Mabba, however, then thought he would attack the French, and in December of the same year, with 4000 warriors, surrounded a party of 300 European French troops, and massacred them all, with the exception of nine, who alone escaped to tell the sad tale. The sacrifices and customs of the King of Dahomey are but a trifle compared to the slaughter and misery this fanatic Mabba has, by his ruthless policy, inflicted on the unoffending negro races. This mail, however, brings the news that he has been captured in battle by Jolliffe, the King of Sein, and his head and hands sent exultingly by that king as a trophy of successful war to the Governor of the French settlements on the Senegal. It has been computed that no less than 20,000 human beings have been killed, or have died through starvation, or have been abducted and sold into Slavery by this monster Mabba, under the cloak of religion; so that now his career is ended, it is hoped that peace and prosperity may be restored to these unhappy countries.

Review.

Life of the Hon. G. W. Gordon, of Jamaica.

By the Rev. D. FLETCHER. Price 2s. 6d.

With a Portrait of the Jamaica Martyr. Second Edition.

THE second edition of Mr. Fletcher's *Life of the Hon. G. W. Gordon*—the Jamaica patriot-martyr—rendered necessary by the rapid exhaustion of the first edition, is in many respects preferable, as it is superior to the original issue. It is almost a new book, so numerous are the additions to it, and, we may add, so important the rectifications. The former are chiefly in the form of letters and other communications, from gentlemen of known position in Jamaica, testifying to the high character of the deceased gentleman, and to his extraordinary abilities: the latter supply some further important particulars bearing on his birth, parentage, and education, and modify some of Mr. Fletcher's first statements, though in no respect disparagingly. The book is much improved by the excision of a great deal that was, properly speaking, not strictly within the record, however interesting as a narration of Mr. Fletcher's travels and religious communions. The consequence is, that the history of Mr. Gordon is more connected. We believe we are correct in stating that nearly the whole of the second edition is subscribed for.

Advertisements.

Just Published, Second Edition, with Portrait, 3s.,

THE
LIFE OF THE HON. G. W. GORDON,
THE MARTYR OF JAMAICA,

BY THE REV. D. FLETCHER,

Author of "The Geography and History of Jamaica," &c.

London: Elliot Stock, Paternoster Row, and all Booksellers.

"Mr. Fletcher's volume is a sad story well worth reading. The history has romantic interest."—*The Freeman*.

"Mrs. Gordon herself bears witness to the intimate acquaintance of Mr. Fletcher with her martyred husband; it is therefore thoroughly reliable. Many will be glad to learn the facts here narrated concerning one so foully wronged."—*The Christian World*.

"Mr. Fletcher was an intimate friend who thoroughly knew the man, and whose testimony to his personal worth is therefore most valuable. If the utmost that has ever been alleged against Mr. Gordon were proved to be true, the damning guilt of Mr. Eyre would remain the same. This little book, however, proves that Mr. Gordon was a man worthy of honour and esteem, alike in

his social, political, and religious life. It proves, on the other hand, that Mr. Eyre's feeling against him was not of recent date, and lends additional weight to the suspicion that *personal spite* had not a little to do with the proceedings against him."—*The Christian Spectator*.

"Mr. Gordon was not only an excellent man, but also one gifted with extraordinary powers of mind. Mr. Fletcher is earnest in endeavouring to do justice to his deceased and much-calumniated friend, and has faithfully accomplished his task."—*The Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

"Mr. Fletcher has unconsciously given a picture of himself and of Mr. Gordon, that will suggest to many of his readers an idea of their religious course in Jamaica more vivid and complete than that of the formal record."—*The Freedman*.

The present is an Enlarged and Improved Edition: more than the half of it is already bespoken.—DUNCAN FLETCHER.

PORTRAIT OF THE LATE G. W. GORDON.

PORTRAITS in crayon of the Jamaica Patriot, G. W. Gordon, may be obtained by applying to E. B., care of L. A. Chamerovzow, 27, New Broad Street, E.C., London. Price, elegantly framed, £4 4s.

Editorial.—We can answer for the life-like resemblance of these portraits, which are enlarged from an excellent photograph of the deceased martyr. The artist has an admirable talent, and has never better succeeded than in the present instance.

Now Ready, Svo, Limp Cloth, Price 1s. 6d.

JAMAICA IN 1866.

A NARRATIVE OF A TOUR THROUGH THE ISLAND, with Remarks on its Social, Educational, and Industrial Condition. By THOMAS HARVEY and WILLIAM BREWIN.

London: A. W. BENNETT, 5 Bishopsgate Street Without.

RICHARD'S MEMOIR OF JOSEPH STURGE.

In consequence of recent changes in his business, A. W. BENNETT is desirous of disposing of the remaining stock of the present edition of the

above work, originally published at 16s. It is offered, *on the present occasion only*, at the very low price of 4s. 6d. per copy, which it is hoped will encourage a large circulation for a work so valuable for general distribution at the present time.

Orders to be addressed, and Post-office Orders made payable, to Alfred W. Bennett, 5 Bishopsgate Street Without, London, E.C.

Orders for six or more copies will be sent carriage free.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS. 1867.

We beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the following donations and subscriptions received since our last:—

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Dons.	Ann. Subs.
Allan, William, London . . .	1	1 0
Baker, James, York . . .	0	5 0
Braithwaite, C. L., Kendal . . .	1	0 0
Browne, Henry, Youghal . . .	0	2 6
Burt, Jonathan, York . . .	1	0 0
Crosfield, John, Ambleside . . .	1	1 0
Dunlop, John, Edinburgh (1866 and 1867) . . .	2	0 0
Francillon, Mrs. F., Sudbrook . . .	0	10 0
Ferguson, Robert, Carlisle . . .	1	1 0
Fisher, Abraham, Croydon . . .	0	2 6
Forster, Robert, Tottenham . . .	1	1 0
Fox, Frederick H., Kingsbridge . . .	1	1 0
Fox, Robert Were, Falmouth . . .	1	1 0
Janson, William, St. Leonard's . . .	2	0 0
King, Samuel, Birmingham . . .	1	0 0
Palmer, George, Reading . . .	2	2 0
Richardson, Henry, York . . .	0	10 0
Rowntree, Sarah, York . . .	1	1 0
Rowntree, John S., York . . .	0	10 0
Sargant, W. T., London, (1866 and 1867) . . .	1	0 0
Shepherd, Mark H., York . . .	1	0 0
Shewell, Joseph, Colchester . . .	0	10 0
Thompson, Silvanus, York . . .	0	5 0
Williams, Dr. Caleb, York . . .	1	1 0
Wilson, James, York . . .	1	0 0
Young, Joseph, Chatham . . .	0	10 0
Y. S., York . . .	0	5 0

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

I give unto the Treasurer or Treasurers, for the time being, of "The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," established in London in the year 1839, the sum of Pounds Sterling, to be raised and paid for the purposes of the said Society, out of such part only of my Personal Estate as shall not consist of Chattels real or money secured on Mortgage of Lands or Tenements, or in any other manner affecting Lands or Tenements; and for which the receipt of such Treasurer or Treasurers shall be a sufficient discharge.

LONDON: Printed by WILLIAM MAYOR WATTS, No. 80, Gray's Inn Road, in the Parish of St. Andrew, in the County of Middlesex; and published at the Office of the Society, No. 27, New Broad Street, in the Parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in the City of London.—FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1867.

Registered for transmission abroad.]